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ABSTRACT

Contents of this book include five papers: (1) "Financing Education for the Urban Disadvantaged," Henry Levin--analyzes the linkages between educational finance and educational quality in large-city schools, and discusses alternative plans for financial innovation; (2) "Accountability in Education," Leon Lessinger--explores the idea of accountability by describing programs and techniques such as independent accomplishment audits, performance contracts, development capital, and escrows; (3) "Training Teachers of the Disadvantaged: Blueprint for a Breakthrough," James Stone--describes a model based on the idea of a separate institution for teacher training, in which teacher training for the disadvantaged is planned and conducted at the grassroots level, with the local school and neighborhood intimately involved, and with responsibility lodged in an agency controlled by the local community; (4) "Educational Facilities for the Urban Disadvantaged," Harold Gores--analyzes experimentation in physical plants for education, and derives a list of "principles of educational renewal;" and, (5) "The Educational Park Concept," Thomas Pettigrew--analyzes the structural barriers to school segregation, such as demographic trends and school districting, and introduces the centralized park as a structural solution for overcoming these barriers and accomplishing school integration. (JM)

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RESOURCES for URBAN SCHOOLS: *Better Use and Balance*

Edited by
Sterling M. McMurrin

Henry M. Levin
Leon M. Lessinger
James C. Stone
Harold B. Gores
Thomas F. Pettigrew

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Foreword

It is not the purpose of the authors of this volume to describe or exhibit our failures in the education of those in our cities who suffer severe economic and cultural disadvantage. Those failures are now painfully evident even to observers having but a casual acquaintance with the meaner facts of our society. They are the failure to produce a general basic literacy, to tie instruction to any guarantee of satisfying vocation or profession, to relate the substance of education meaningfully to the facts of contemporary urban existence, to provide the minimum amenities of cultivated life to millions who have been denied them by poverty or ethnic origin. They are the failure, in brief, to break the cycle of poverty that excludes its victims from any viable access to the so-called mainstream of American life.

Rather, the purpose here is to examine the causes of this predicament, to determine why the schools of the central cities so often fail us, and to point directions in which we must move. The authors attempt to identify those decisions which we must make, in the hope and indeed the faith, that there are ways out of the cultural morass that now threatens to be the dissolution of so much that had seemed secure in the American dream. Their concern, of course, is not simply with the schools as such

but with the total social complex that determines the educational processes, of which the schools are the center.

Here and in two companion volumes are hard hitting, incisive, and—for such a conservative profession—quite outspoken attacks by several of our most seminal educational thinkers on a crucial national and, indeed, worldwide problem. The authors are concerned with the issue of what must be done to save not the schools but the children—even if this means saving them from the schools as we now know them. Nothing is more obvious here than that radical transformations are in order if the urban schools are to deliver on our demand that they provide effective education for the disadvantaged. There can be no more business as usual. The solution does not lie in more money to finance more of the same old thing, or simply to tinker with the old ways of doing things.

It is fortunate, of course, that not only are we moving ahead in research on matters pertaining to learning, but we are witnessing as well numerous radical breakthroughs in school practice that have great value. Not the least of these is the example of solid accomplishment by instructors, administrators, and parents who are willing to break with habit and run the risks of trying something new. More research with findings packaged for use by schoolmen and more extensive and intensive experimentation and demonstration are essential to define the full possibilities and determine appropriate priorities.

By now we should have a few things firmly established in our thinking: that our concentration should be on learning rather than on teaching; that fundamental transformations in the instruction of the disadvantaged often mean changes in the home as well as the school; that for large segments of our population improved education necessitates the breakdown of racial discrimination and segregation in the schools; that failures in establishing literacy, with the few exceptions of extreme mental abnormality, are failures of the home and

school and not of the children's native capabilities; that effective linkages between schooling and eventual employment or professional preparation must be established; that success means the institution of extensive programs of preschooling and the introduction in the schools of systematic treatment of instructional techniques; and that a major reform of the curriculum is required to bring the substance of education into meaningful relation to the experience, aspirations, and self-esteem of children and youths.

In their concern specifically with the resources for urban schools, the authors here insist on radical reforms of the traditional patterns of American school districting, finance, and management; advocate recruitment and education of teachers by processes that violate the conventions of most of our schools of education; urge revolutionary changes in school architecture and the deployment and differentiated function of teaching personnel and students; and argue for a systems approach to instructional organization and method. It is in a sense a combined argument for new kinds of schools to save education for the central city by making it effective in city lives and life of the city.

Additionally, there is here the insistence that schools should be held accountable for their educational product—accountable in terms of the accomplishment of *all* their students, whatever their ethnic origin or economic or cultural background. This is a large order and it places a great burden upon the schools, one which they should not bear alone and cannot bear successfully without the full cooperation of all other related social agencies both public and private. The responsibility for the future of our society rests not only upon the schools, but it must rest more upon them than upon anything else, a hard fact that all who now enter the education profession must be prepared to face.

In making their plea for breaking through the bonds of habit and convention, the authors are at one in insisting that the

live options available to central-city children and youths must be multiplied, opened up, and kept open. This is likewise a major theme in the Committee for Economic Development's 1971 policy statement *Education for the Urban Disadvantaged: from Preschool to Employment*, one of several CED policy statements directed to the solution of crucial contemporary urban problems. The expert research papers commissioned in the preparation of this statement comprise the chapters of this volume and the other two volumes in the CED Series on Urban Education.

Sterling M. McMurrin, *Project Director*
Dean, Graduate School
University of Utah

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1. Financing Education for the Urban Disadvantaged

Henry M. Levin

Urban schools have been failing disadvantaged students for a considerable period of time.* This has been true despite the fact that the failure was not widely recognized by a society which defined such problems as southern ones rather than ones found in the cities of opportunity of the North.[1]

Nevertheless, educational policy makers are now charged with finding solutions to a problem that is complex, pervasive, and long-standing. Though the origins of the problems are not known, its invidious effects are obvious. That great social equalizer, the public school system, does not seem to be working for disadvantaged youngsters, particularly those of racial minorities, in urban areas. Rather than equalizing the opportunities of youngsters born into different circumstances, the schools seem to be perpetuating these differences.[2]

*The use of the term *urban disadvantaged* is the customary euphemism for referring to a student population that is drawn primarily from poor urban black, Puerto Rican, and Mexican-American populations. Their families live in the core areas of large cities, and their communities are characterized by high levels of unemployment, infant mortality, undiagnosed and untreated health problems, and poor housing in conjunction with low levels of education. Simultaneously, they have been organized, journalized, researched, romanticized, and ignored by the social, political, intellectual, and economic forces of this country; but there have been few changes in their miserable lot.[3]

It has been stated again and again that the problems of the cities can be solved only with substantial infusions of dollars. In the case of the inner-city schools, both school boards and teacher organizations assert that additional finances are the most important ingredient for improving the schools. Unfortunately, the evidence suggests that there is no simple and straightforward relationship between expenditures and school effectiveness. Rather the nexus is a complicated one. The purpose of this paper is to explore that linkage between financial arrangements for supporting the city schools and the improvement of those particular schools serving inner-city (read disadvantaged or black) pupils.

What are the connections between the present financial arrangements for the schools and their failure to fulfill the educational needs of the inner-city child? There are three distinct links to this failure. First, the present method of financing the schools places most large-city school districts at a severe disadvantage in supporting needed school services. Second, the distributions of school finances within cities systematically shortchanges those children drawn from poor and powerless constituencies. And third, much of the money that finally filters down to the schools attended by the urban disadvantaged is wasted on traditional approaches which are not appropriate for inner-city schools.[4]

Financing the Large-City School Districts

By law, public schooling is a function of the states. The states are responsible for determining such matters as what can be taught and who shall be qualified to serve as administrators, counselors, and teachers in the schools; and the states are also responsible for financing the schools. Taxes collected for the schools whether obtained at state or local levels are considered to be state taxes.[5] Local school districts are generally considered to be quasi-corporations of the states or mere instrumentalities whose powers and obligations derive from the state.[6]

How then have the states chosen to finance the schools, and how have these arrangements affected the city schools in particular? The states have generally required local school districts to finance their schools primarily on the basis of the local property tax. If property wealth, resource costs, pupil burdens, educational needs, and other social needs were equally distributed between city and other school districts, the financial problems of the former would likely be no more burdensome than those of the latter. Yet, the confluence of several factors places the city schools at a severe disadvantage in financing education from property tax revenues.[7]

First, the property tax base is not distributed equally among jurisdictions. Some local school districts have far more ability to support their schools than do others. For example, the amount of taxable property per resident pupil in Michigan in 1965–66 varied from over $53,000 in the richest school district to only $1,319 in the poorest area.[8] Thus, to raise similar revenues per student in both districts would require a tax rate forty times as great in the poor district as in the rich one. Similar disparities are found in almost all of the other states.

Using the more direct comparison of city-suburban differences, it appears that most of the large cities have less taxable wealth than their suburbs.[9] Worse yet, the relative position of the cities is deteriorating as commercial enterprises and middle-class families migrate from city to suburb with concomitant shifts in the tax base.[10]

In addition to the smaller tax base behind each student, the cities face other fiscal disadvantages in comparison to their suburban neighbors. As centers of metropolitan regions, they must provide social services that benefit the commuters from the entire metropolis. That is, police, fire, transportation, and other public services must be provided for large numbers of nonresidents who use the city as a workplace or cultural center while paying their property taxes in the suburban jurisdictions where they live. These extra demands on their resources repre-

sent "municipal overburden." The added strain also results from heavy social welfare services for family support and health purposes that are associated with the large numbers of disadvantaged residents who populate the inner cities. Municipal overburden represents a claim on city resources that reduces the amount that cities can allocate to the schools in contrast with their suburbs who do not have demands for the extra services. Even in a medium-sized city it was estimated that the municipal overburden represented 19 per cent of municipal expenditures.[11]

In addition to these relative resource stringencies for support of education, the cities also face higher costs in purchasing educational resources. A teacher who would accept a position for a particular salary in the suburbs typically requires substantially more to teach in the city, if he teaches there at all. To prospective teachers, the inner-city schools are characterized by educational problems that seem far more demanding than those of schools in other areas.[12] Not only do personnel cost more, but land costs, construction costs, and insurance costs are considerably higher in the cities. For example, Detroit paid over $100,000 an acre for school sites purchased in 1967, while surrounding suburban districts paid only about $6,000.[13]

Higher school costs in the city mean that tax dollars buy fewer educational services than they do in the suburbs.

Yet in spite of lesser available resources and higher costs, the cities are burdened with far greater educational responsibilities than the suburbs. Having large concentrations of economically disadvantaged pupils, the cities must provide massive educational services in order to place such students on a par with their more advantaged peers at the end of the schooling process.

Society's neglect becomes the responsibility of the schools. That is, even before birth, the disadvantaged child is more likely to face prenatal malnutrition; and in his early years he is a prominent candidate for protein starvation.[14] He is less likely to

receive adequate medical and dental care as well, so he is more prone to suffer from a large variety of undetected, undiagnosed, and untreated health problems. Less worldly goods, less travel, low educational attainments of parents, and so on, mean that the disadvantaged inner-city child lacks the preparation for learning which the schools assume of middle-class children. So the schools must provide more educational assistance, diagnostic, health, and food services to the inner-city child in order to help him achieve his learning potential in basic skills and in general academic competence.

Given the high concentrations of students who need such assistance in the cities, the direct result is a greater financial burden for the city schools than for suburban ones. In summary, greater pupil needs, higher costs, municipal overburden, and smaller resources to draw upon mean that the present system of financing the schools places the city at a severe disadvantage in comparison to the suburbs. It is more difficult for the city to raise equal dollars, but equal dollars do not buy equal educational services because of higher costs in the city, and the educational services that the city must provide are far more massive than those that must be provided by suburban neighbors.

How do the states reconcile the unequal financial status of local districts for providing educational services under what is legally a state system of schools? The plain fact is that while the states provide some direct aid to school districts, local differences in ability to raise funds are by no means reconciled. Such state aid arrangements are termed "equalization" plans—a flagrant misnomer when one considers the effect of such plans.[15] No matter what set of equalization arrangements the states have adopted, the arrangements seem to have two effects: on the average, the richer the school district, the greater will be the expenditures on each student, and the lower will be the tax burden as a proportion of wealth (or income).[16] In fact, there is evidence that many cities receive fewer dollars from the state for each pupil than do their wealthier suburbs.[17] Though some states pro-

vide additional financial support to their cities for educating children from low-income families, this supplemental aid is so nominal that the pattern does not change. Even the effect of federal aid for schooling the disadvantaged, such as that allocated under Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, makes but a small alteration in the basic system of unequal support. Given these financing arrangements, it is not surprising to find that cities, in contrast to the suburbs, are generally characterized by higher tax rates but lower school expenditures, despite the greater educational needs of students enrolled in the city schools.

On the basis of these disparities, the deterioration in the relative position of the city is cumulative: middle-class families move increasingly to the suburbs to obtain higher quality educational services for their children at lower tax rates. Business firms also move to reduce their tax burdens. Left behind are those unfortunates who cannot afford to escape, creating an even greater concentration of disadvantaged pupils in the city schools while the financial base for supporting the school slips away. So the city school districts are in dire financial straits, and the future is certainly bleak unless substantial structural reforms in financing the schools are enacted.

Distributing School Finances Within the Cities

The financial stringencies faced by the large-city school districts are not the only financial factor hindering the improvement of inner-city schools. There also appears to be a distributional problem in that the school districts themselves shortchange systematically those schools attended by disadvantaged populations. Those city schools with heavy concentrations of lower-class and nonwhite enrollments appear to have been discriminated against for years in the allocation of resources. School systems can get away with this kind of dis-

crimination because the conventional school accounting systems do not report expenditures on a school-by-school basis. Furthermore, few school superintendents and other high officials will admit that such disparities exist since to do so would be politically dangerous.

Nevertheless, an increasing number of studies have examined, through internal audit, the school-by-school funding patterns within cities, and they have found that rather consistently fewer dollars are spent in schools educating poor children and black children than in schools attended by their white middle-class counterparts.[18] Not only have these differences been tolerated (and perhaps promoted in the past) but it appears that even monies for compensatory education are often used to support district-wide services instead of being applied to the disadvantaged for whom they were intended. Studies sponsored by the U.S. Office of Education have been unable to trace Title I compensatory monies to their alleged target populations.

In fact, intensive investigation of Title I expenditures has shown many discrepancies between the intent of the law and the use of the funds. For example, a recent California State Department of Education report for the City of Oakland found that much of the $10 million in federal funds Oakland had obtained to aid some 12,000 ghetto youngsters was actually spent for services throughout the district.[19] While federal financing was provided to give all ghetto elementary school children additional reading and language arts instruction, only two out of five youngsters actually received such assistance. Of 477 staff positions approved for the "target" schools, only 276 employees could be accounted for (the funds for the other positions presumably were financing personnel at other schools).

The point is that if the inner-city schools are shortchanged under the existing distribution of funds, there is no reason to believe that funds for the disadvantaged from higher levels of government will reach their mark. Traditional administrative devices, an accounting system that masks school-by-school

discrepancies, and the uneven distribution of political power augur continuing financial shortchanging of schools attended by the disadvantaged. Of course, a few inner-city schools have been dressed up as showcase institutions, producing the intended impression that all inner-city schools are receiving special advantages. It is these schools that are given publicity by the press and boards of education, such as the 20 or so schools in the More Effective School (MES) program in New York City. What is not recognized in the MES case is that probably over half of New York City's 900 schools serve educationally disadvantaged populations and that only 21 of them were receiving such specialized treatment in 1968–69.

Foremost among the venerable administrative devices working to discriminate against inner-city youngsters is the unified salary schedule, which gives the same reward to a teacher no matter how desirable the teaching situation within each city. It is little wonder, then, that teacher experience is lowest and teacher turnover is highest in the inner-city schools. Teachers appear to use these schools as training grounds in preparation for obtaining positions in the middle-class schools. If school administrators and teacher organizations really cared about the needs of the disadvantaged, the inner-city schools would be provided with a more experienced teaching force even if substantial salary differentials and other benefits were required to achieve this. Instead, both administrators and teacher organizations have preferred to treat the unified salary schedule as inviolate regardless of its impact on the schools of the inner city.[20]

The fact that teachers are at the lower-experience rungs in the inner-city schools is a primary reason for the lower per-pupil expenditures in those schools. Yet the central school boards seem unwilling to return to those schools the "savings" on teachers in the form of substantially more personnel, supplies, and other resources. Rather the "savings" from lower teacher budgets in the ghetto schools represent implicit subsidies for the middle-class ones.

Spending on the Inner-City Schools

Perhaps the greatest tragedy in the financial chain is that when additional dollars finally filter down to the inner-city schools, they are often squandered on traditional approaches that have consistently failed the inner-city youngster. The record of spending on compensatory education is an outstanding testimony to the futility of doing more of the same things that have not worked in the past.

Indeed, the inability of compensatory education programs to produce significant results is directly traceable to the questionable ideology on which they are tacitly based. Inherent in compensatory education programs is the condescending view that the urban minority child is somehow inferior to the middle-class child. In comparison to the white, middle-class child, he is "deprived" and "disadvantaged." Therefore, he needs remedial work and compensatory resources to improve his prospects. That is, *remediation* is considered to be the key to the minority child's emancipation. That the minority child is different from the middle-class white child is mere tautology. Yet in this case the schools assume that his cultural differences represent inferiorities that must be eliminated. Inherent in this approach is a total disrespect for and depreciation of the cultures and experiences of black and other minority children. Yet to a minority youngster, his experience is certainly as valid as that of his white counterpart.

There is no reason that he must deny or deprecate his background in order to "learn." Indeed, such forced self-denunciation can only guarantee the development of a serious and widening breach between the school and the child. Quite the opposite, the schools must capitalize on the cultural strengths of minority children in order to build cultural bridges between the experiences of those children and the goals of the larger society.[21] But this goal requires taking a specialized approach to educating minority students, one that violates the under-

pinnings of the present universalistic model. The present method tacitly assumes that the same approach is universally applicable to all children despite the pious rhetoric often espoused about "individualized" instruction. Unfortunately, the large urban school systems have shown themselves to be incapable of building educational programs that will capitalize on the cultural attributes of minority children. This fact becomes quite clear when one examines the way in which so-called compensatory education programs have been formulated. Most money has been spent on such traditional routes as reducing class size, increasing the number of counselors and remedial specialists, and buying more library books. That is, more money has been spent on the same remedies that have not worked well in the past. The inevitable result is that a larger budget purchasing more of the same ingredients will make a larger version of the same dismal cake. There must be qualitative changes in the recipe in order to improve the quality of education for minority children.[22]

The fact that such qualitative changes have not generally taken place has meant that dollar resources have been misspent. In evaluating the effect of Title I monies on reading scores, the U.S. Office of Education found that " . . . a child who participated in a Title I project had only a 19 per cent chance of a significant achievement gain, a 13 per cent chance of a significant achievement loss, and a 68 per cent chance of no change at all (relative to the national norms)."[23]

Further, the projects that were investigated were " . . . most likely to be representative of projects in which there was a higher than average investment in resources. Therefore more significant achievement gains should be found here than in a more representative sample of Title I projects."[24]

In fact, comparing dollar inputs between schools attended by minority students and those attended by middle-class whites is an erroneous way of measuring school resource endowments between races. To the degree that money is spent in both cases

on teachers, curriculum, and other inputs that are more effective for white children than for black or Spanish-speaking students, dollar expenditures tend to overstate vastly the relative resources available to the latter group. Rather, nominal resources devoted to the two groups of schools must be weighted by their effectiveness to ascertain their true values.

The futility of employing checklists of physical characteristics or dollar expenditures in comparing schools attended by minority students with those attended by majority students is reflected in the following illustration. If black schools and white schools have the same number of teachers with the same preparation and experience, the two sets of schools are considered to be equal according to conventional criteria. Now what if all of the teachers have white racist views? Clearly, if black schools and white schools have equal numbers of white racist teachers, the two sets of schools are not equal even though the physical quantities of teachers are. This example raises additional questions about the present definition of remediation and compensatory education. If we double the number of white racist teachers in black schools, class size will be reduced by 50 per cent, yet it is difficult to argue that healthy increases in educational output will take place. Yet, such a situation is perfectly consistent with the conventional arithmetic of spending on compensatory education. Attention is heavily focused on the amount of traditional resources available to minority children with almost no consideration of the appropriateness or the efficacy of those resources.

Some Financial Solutions

Thus we have defined three separate links that tie together the failure of the inner-city schools and present arrangements for financing these schools. From these it follows that simple cures, such as just obtaining more money for the cities, will hardly guarantee solving all or even most of the infirmities of

urban education. Rather, the solution requires a tripartite response. First, how can we increase the financial resources available to large-city school districts? Second, how can we assure that an appropriately large share of the additional resources will be devoted to the inner-city schools? And finally, how can we increase the probability that this support will be used on educational programs that will produce results?

Strangely enough, obtaining more dollars for the large-city school districts is the problem most likely to be solved in the near future. The reason for this optimism is that the present financing arrangements for the schools appear to violate the "equal protection clause" of the Fourteenth Amendment of the Constitution.[25] Simply stated, the states are responsible for financing the schools. Whether school taxes are collected by the state or by local school districts, they are considered to be state taxes; and if disparities exist in the revenue resources available to school districts, then such differences exist as a consequence of the state's discretion. It is contended that by basing school support for any student on such fortuitous circumstances as where he lives, the wealth of his community or the community's taste for education, the states are not granting equal protection of the law to all residents.

On this premise many cities have begun to sue their prospective states with the goal of requiring the states to foster a true measure of equality of educational opportunity.[26] While some of the suits argue for equal expenditures among schools, others assert that equal protection of the law requires unequal expenditures based upon higher costs and greater student needs in urban schools. In practical terms, the states would be required to undertake a far larger share of the educational burden, one that would shift rather substantial financial resources to the city schools. Even without litigation, the threat of such suits will probably pressure state legislatures to revamp their present arrangements for financing the schools.[27] Interestingly enough, the pressure of litigation resulting from Detroit v. State of

Michigan (Board of Education v. Michigan, General Civil No. 103342—Circuit Court, Michigan, Wayne County, filed Feb. 2, 1968) seems to have been a factor in the Special Message issued by Michigan Governor William G. Milliken on October 9, 1969 to his Legislature requesting a sweeping reform of that state's school finance arrangements. The governor's plan called for a uniform statewide property tax for school operating purposes.

Through the direct and indirect effects of litigation, it appears that all of the state legislatures will ultimately overhaul their archaic and inequitable plans for supporting schools. At the very least, these plans will attempt to distribute the tax burden more equitably and to assure that children are given an equal educational opportunity in some sense of the phrase. Since it is to the cities' advantage to obtain these changes as soon as possible, they should consider litigation charging their states with violating the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment in order to obtain legal redress or to prod state legislatures into action.[28] The prognosis seems good for the fiscal relief of the large-city school districts.

Accounting for Expenditures

Unfortunately, more dollars for the city schools will not be enough in itself to overcome the particular problems of the inner-city schools. A further step must be taken to assure that the inner-city schools receive the benefits of the newly found largesse.

The states can make a substantial move toward ensuring fair allocations to the inner-city schools by requiring cities to report school-by-school budgetary allocations. That is, the states should require expenditure information for individual schools from all of its school districts. With data available on individual school enrollments, social and racial composition of schools, and school expenditures, within-district equity could be scrutinized. Under the present accounting system, which does

not require school-by-school reporting of expenditures, the central school administration can continue to discriminate against inner-city schools with virtual impunity.

Further, the visibility of school-by-school budgets would provide a relatively simple method of seeing that monies for compensatory education are spent in the schools for which they were intended. That is, the change in per-pupil expenditure for each school from year to year should reflect not only the district-wide rise in expenditures, but should also reflect extra funds designated for particular programs or students. Under the present accounting system one cannot observe the pattern of changes resulting from such categorical aid since even the initial distribution of expenditures among schools is obscured.

The reporting of expenditures and other information by cities on a school-by-school basis has other advantages. Since aid from higher levels of government is often given according to the socioeconomic level (degree of disadvantage) of the student population, it is easiest to assess this criterion for each school. In a feasibility study for New York State it was found that a measure of educational need for disadvantaged children could be constructed from information provided by school principals.[29] Using various combinations of data on student race and social class—data that were generally available for each school—a useful measure of need for resources could be computed. The authors of this study also suggested ways in which the measure of school resource need could be woven into a state school finance formula. Accounting for expenditures on a school-by-school basis is mandatory if we are to obtain equity for the inner-city schools.

Financing for Educational Effectiveness

Obtaining more money for the city school districts and guaranteeing that the inner-city schools receive adequate shares of those finances requires fairly specific mechanical changes in

state finance and accounting procedures. Given the recommended changes that we have specified in these two areas, the impact of the new arrangements is fairly predictable. Both goals can be achieved with rather straightforward departures from existing state policies. The third problem, that of spending dollars more effectively in the inner-city schools, is more elusive; though financial and accounting arrangements can be mandated, school effectiveness cannot. Indeed, this is the weakest link in the financial chain, for it is the one over which the bankers of the public schools have the least measure of control.

The basic flaw of the educational system—and characteristically of most public enterprises—is that there are no incentives built into the system to satisfy social goals. If students are not learning to read in a particular school, there are no direct incentives to change the situation. Principals and teachers get pay increases on schedule, whether they succeed or fail. All teachers with the same degree level and years of experience are treated similarly regardless of their performance. In fact, financial incentives are given personnel primarily for surviving in the system, not for showing results. That is, a teacher has only to live long enough to rise to the top of the salary scale. Nowhere in the present organization of schools do we have financial or nonfinancial incentives for making schools succeed. That is, success is not compensated or formally recognized, and the reward structure is systematically divorced from educational effectiveness.

This fundamental weakness of the schools must be remedied by adopting an approach that rewards success and penalizes failure, just as other organizations have done.[30] It is only by creating organizational incentives to improve vastly the inner-city schools that such schools will use their additional finances in ways to produce academic gains and healthy emotional development among the forgotten populations. The kinds of incentives that are appropriate appear to be ones which would reward educational responsiveness to the needs of the students and families

who are served. Two kinds of models have been posited that would pursue these goals: the market approach to schooling and the political or community control approach.

1. The Educational Marketplace

The market approach is based upon a plan suggested by Professor Milton Friedman of the University of Chicago.[31] Schools are essentially monopolistic in that they provide services for a captive audience. Since most parents have little choice but to send their children to local schools—no matter how poor the performance of such institutions—the students are locked in to a system that does not have to satisfy their educational needs. The proponents of the market approach believe that by giving students and their families a choice of schools, and by requiring schools to compete for students, substantial increases in educational effectiveness would result. For if schools had to compete for students in order to survive, they would likely be much more responsive to the particular needs of their potential clientele.

What are the mechanics of such an arrangement? The state would provide tuition vouchers to parents for a specified maximum sum per year for each child. Parents would be free to use these vouchers at any approved institution of their choice. Institutions would be encouraged to enter the marketplace to compete for students, and any school that met minimal requirements in such areas as curriculum and personnel would be eligible to participate. Thus a system of nonpublic schools would compete with the public ones for students. Applying this model to the residents of the inner city, this arrangement " . . . would allow that one section of our population that suffers most seriously from segregated schooling—the poor—to move at their own initiative, and if they want to, into schools of their choice outside their neighborhood."[32] The result of this approach is that: " . . . Parents could express their views about schools directly, by withdrawing their children from one school and sending them

to another to a much greater extent than is now possible."[33] Information on alternative schools would be provided to all potential participants, in order to ensure an effectively functioning educational marketplace. That is, data on school costs, programs, strategies, effectiveness, and student populations might be required of all approved schools in order to keep parents and potential educational sellers informed of available alternatives. Such an arrangement would induce innovation and experimentation in that each school would try to obtain competitive advantages over the others. Only those public schools which would be responsive to the needs of their students could survive such competition, so a healthy infusion of nonpublic schools into the market would also tend to keep the remaining public schools on their toes.[34]

In addition to the basic Friedman plan, there are many other ways of using an educational marketplace to fulfill the social goals set out for the inner-city schools. In an excellent discussion on the subject, Anthony Downs has suggested that the cities modify existing attendance boundaries so that all students within a given area of the city can attend any of a number of schools within that boundary;[35] that is, several traditional attendance areas would be merged to form a new one. Schools within the merged area would compete for students, and teachers and other resources would be shifted from the less successful schools—those whose enrollments decline—to those attracting new enrollments. Portable classrooms could also be added to the latter schools, if necessary. Thus, principals would have an incentive to maximize the important educational outputs desired by the residents of the merged attendance areas or face a loss of clientele and resources.

In a similar vein, James S. Coleman[36] and others have suggested contracting out services such as reading and arithmetic and paying educational contractors only on the basis of their students' results on standardized tests.* There are many

*See Chapter 2, "Accountability in Education," by Leon M. Lessinger.

ways to create competition within the inner-city schools, and virtually all of them would provide market-type incentives for utilizing educational resources far more effectively than they have been applied in the past.

2. Political Incentives

Yet, the market alternative is not the only means of providing incentives for ensuring that schools in the inner city will fulfill the needs of their clientele. It is also possible to redirect the efforts of such institutions through revamping the political processes by which decisions are made. At the present time, educational strategies are set out at some highly centralized level for all children and all classrooms in the city schools. Personnel, curriculum, and materials are chosen or approved by central school boards and are imposed on a large variety of educational settings for which they are totally inappropriate. Yet, as we pointed out previously, good educational strategies are ones which are made on the basis of the particular characteristics and needs of the children being served. They cannot be set out at a highly centralized, abstract, and depersonalized level just to satisfy an administrative compulsion for order. The drab uniformity imposed by the city school boards has been particularly disastrous for the inner-city schools where institutions seem to perform the futile exercise of going through motions that have little educational substance.

Under such conditions it becomes imperative to decentralize decision-making from a central school board to some lower level in order to adapt to the different needs of different segments of the population. Indeed, the market approach is an example of such decentralization, while political decentralization is another form. The latter method would put authority for governing the inner-city schools into the hands of groups of citizens who were representative of the community being served by those schools which are characterized by the greatest failures in fulfilling the educational needs of their students.[37]

How would such a system work? Decentralized school districts would be formed in the inner city based upon proximity and commonality of needs among schools. Each decentralized or community school district would elect a representative school board to govern its constituent schools. The central school board would provide each decentralized school board with a lump-sum budget, and each local board would possess substantial discretion in allocating its budget.[38] Financial accounts and accountability would remain in the hands of the central school authority, but the actual disbursements for each school could be authorized only by the local governing board for that school. On the basis of this decision-making power the local governing boards, in conjunction with administrators and teachers (and perhaps student representatives), would construct their programs and purchase the necessary components to implement them, a course of action which is not permitted under the existing regulations. Political decentralization would then enable schools to reflect more closely the educational needs of their constituents. The inner-city schools would be pressured to break out of the pattern of ineptitude fostered by the mindless universalism of traditional big-city school administration.

Both political and market incentives could be combined to make the inner-city schools more effective. Under a system of decentralized schools, students should be given a choice of attending a school in their own community or in any other community. Moreover, the central school board would continue to operate a few schools as alternatives to both individual students and parents—via market choice—and to groups of students and parents—via political action within the community.

Furthermore, the decentralized school districts might find it desirable to purchase some services from private contractors. The community school board would plan its educational requirements and compare these with its capabilities. The school board would then solicit bids from industry, universities, and nonprofit groups for fulfilling objectives in those areas where

the local district had the least proficiencies. Educational contractors would compete for the particular services which the community wished to buy, and remuneration might be based on the success of the programs.

The solution to financing the inner-city schools requires that three conditions be met. First, the large cities must obtain greater financial resources to support education. Second, the inner-city schools must not be shortchanged in the distribution of such funds. Third, dollars must be used to provide services that are educationally effective for inner-city youngsters. The evidence suggests that none of these conditions are presently satisfied.

Fortunately, recent legal developments suggest reforms in state school finance arrangements that should increase the level of support for city schools. Equity among schools within a city can also be ensured by modifying financial accounting and reporting so that school-by-school expenditures can be scrutinized. But the third condition, educational effectiveness, will require more than just changes in school support. Some system must be adopted that will reward schools that are excelling while penalizing those that are failing—differences that are ignored by present financial arrangements. The use of market and political incentives both show promise in this respect. Without substantial moves in this direction, much of the additional financial support for the inner-city schools will be wasted through the same inept and insensitive schooling processes that have not worked in the past.

2. Accountability in Education

Leon M. Lessinger

Accountability is most easily grasped when viewed as a policy demand by responsible officials for regular, mandatory, and independent public reports of results achieved for the dollars and programs provided. It is a proof-of-results policy.

Since results accomplished have little meaning apart from results intended, accountability forces a public hearing of the relationship between actual output to objectives stipulated. The ratio of output attained to output forecast is a basic measure of productivity. Thus, accountability is an educational productivity policy.

Educational productivity is a lively concern in American life. Liberals accuse the schools of failing to meet the needs of society's neediest: the poor, the black, the brown—our hidden minorities. Conservatives charge the system with waste, inefficiency, extravagant spending on frills, and failure to transmit the values of a free society to our youth. Moderates believe the schools are relatively good, but are increasingly puzzled by student unrest, teacher strikes, and campus violence.

Virtually everyone agrees that something has gone wrong, that corrective action is needed. Congress and state legislatures have responded to this crisis of public concern by providing

additional funds, but are increasingly dismayed that puzzling educational problems persist. Taxpayers, increasingly and alarmingly, are becoming disenchanted, rejecting many of the school tax levies which they approved routinely a decade ago. This widespread disillusionment with the results of American education has generated intense and even desperate efforts at school reform.

The relatively recent federal involvement in the education of poor and disadvantaged children is symptomatic of widespread public concern about the results of education. This concern may be viewed as a demand that our schools become accountable for results. Reports of education in the inner city, for example, cite the following kinds of student performance as evidence that the desired results are not being achieved: As many as 70 per cent of the students drop out before graduation; many read at levels three or more years behind national norms; few can compose an essay in acceptable English; few can perform simple arithmetic operations accurately.

The reports indicate that the causes of the public schools' failure to educate the children of the poor and the minorities are many and complex. These reports gain credence from what seems to be agreement among responsible educators about the facts cited. Meanwhile, there is a growing consensus among those with authority to commit funds. While new money is urgently needed, it is agreed, simply pouring more money into education is *not* the complete answer.

In principle, the American educational commitment has been that every child should have an adequate education. This commitment has been stated in terms of resources such as teachers, books, space, and equipment. When a child has failed to learn, school personnel have labelled him "slow," or "unmotivated," or "retarded." Our schools must assume a revised commitment—that every child shall learn. Such a commitment includes the willingness to change a system that does not work and find one that does, to seek causes of failure

in the system and its personnel instead of focusing solely on students. In short, the school must be held accountable for results in terms of student learning rather than solely in the use of resources.

With the advent of major federal financial support, people increasingly ask of their schools, "What are we getting for our money?" Traditional answers in terms of resources employed, teachers available, and buildings provided, no longer are sufficient. The public wants to know if young people can read, get a job, or compete successfully at a higher level of education. This is a call for accountability for results—a demand for changes so pervasive and of such magnitude that they can only be characterized as revolutionary.

If schools are to be accountable for results, a new approach to the basic mission of the schools is necessary. In the first place, the focus must shift from teaching to learning. Second, the schools will cease to merit credit solely for their ability to sort out young people and steer them along rutted roads toward college or toward the discard pile. Third, a technology of instruction based on specific learning objectives will start to build. Finally, a rational relationship may be established between costs and benefits.

While the idea of accountability is seemingly simple, implementation of it is not. Extensive discussion of the concept is needed to build a conceptual and operational base. The author's purpose is to promote such a discussion.

The applicability of the ideas in this chapter are deliberately limited to "training"—and to the basic skills, attitudes, and knowledge commonly understood by the term—rather than to "education." The target group of students most vitally affected is the disadvantaged, although the ideas may have more general applicability.

Often in science and in other spheres of thought, it is not possible to confront an important idea directly. For example, the phenomenon of electricity is understood by its

effects—flow, resistance, pressure. It may be helpful to approach accountability in a similar indirect manner. The ideas of audits, performance contracts, developmental capital, and educational escrow accounts constitute the rather basic primitive attributes of the concept of accountability for learning results. A suggestion also is made for a possible mechanism for furthering development and application of the concept through the establishment of a Society for Accountability in Public Education.

The Performance Contract

In 1969 an experiment utilizing the services of an outside contractor in improving the education of disadvantaged children was begun in Texarkana, Arkansas. The unusual feature of this arrangement was the requirement that the contractor bring backward students up to normal grades for their age levels at a given cost in a given time—or else pay a money penalty. In commenting on the contract, Congressman Roman C. Pucinski, Chairman of the House Subcommittee on General Education, said "the unique aspect of the Texarkana experiment is 'guaranteed performance.' "[1]

Guaranteed performance would indeed be a revolution in American education, for it is the embodiment of a notion of fundamental importance: accountability of the education system for results.

The initial Texarkana dropout prevention program has been followed by second-generation contracts, built on the promises and problems revealed by this project, in Dallas, Philadelphia, Jacksonville, and scores of other cities. These efforts illustrate an approach to achieving accountability through performance contracts with private enterprise. In barely one year, the amount of money allocated for this approach has gone from the $250,000 represented by the first investment to well over $100 million dollars, and the expenditures continue to increase with little indication that there will be a slowdown.

It should be understood that performance contracting need not be limited to private enterprise. Indeed, two systems in the Office of Economic Opportunity's performance contract experiment have negotiated contracts with teachers' associations; the cities are Mesa, Arizona, and Stockton, California, where the teachers are the vendors.

The Basic Elements of Performance Contracting

Following is a description of the basic elements of the processes embodied in the first- and second-generation projects, together with some generalizations about the wider implications of the approach.

A local education agency applies to the federal government, state government, or other source for funds to conduct a stipulated program. The school district proposes to translate its objectives (e.g., reading, arithmetic, and study skills for disadvantaged students in specified locations) into performance criteria for competitive bids by private contractors.

The school district employs an "agent," in the form of outside technical assistance from a nonprofit firm, to help translate the objectives into an evidence framework and to develop the *request for performance* (RFP), the document against which the bidding takes place.* The firm also supplies such additional services as overseeing the bidding process, developing the actual performance contract with the successful bidder, communicating with school staff and community, and conducting a host of related activities.

The elements of the program essentially are these:

1. Students who are below standard in basic skills or other priority areas are to receive a training program for an agreed-upon period of time in a portion of the school plant.

*For sample *request for performance*, see Appendix, page 123.

The students remain in the total school program to receive other school benefits.

2. The contractor agrees to train school personnel so that the school system can carry on the successful practice after the project is terminated.

3. The contractor agrees to be paid only on the basis of a stipulated amount of money for each student who successfully completes the training program.

4. A penalty is assessed for those students who do not achieve specified performance levels.

5. A stated time after the termination of the project, school officials have a right to reassess student performance. If it is less than the specified level achieved, a penalty may be assessed.

6. The school system, not the contractor, selects the students.

7. The training program of the successful bidder must be cost-effective and not labor-intensive.

8. An independent audit is mandated as the basis of payment.

9. The contract stipulates a "turnkey" or system-incorporation feature to insure general use of a successful approach so that the program continues after the contractor has terminated his services.

The assumption behind such programs is that a private contractor, in concert with regular school personnel in the over-all school setting, performing both an institution-building and a direct instruction service, will have greater freedom to innovate and may be more successful in motivating students than the regular school system has been.

Stating Objectives Clearly

Performance contracts are not new to education. Elements of the notion can be seen in a variety of experiments during the 1920's, and there were some early attempts at accountability

in the nineteenth century. However, the new large-scale attempt to hold an education agency accountable for results has grown out of careful study of recent reports on the various programs administered through the U.S. Office of Education.

These evaluation reports on the various titles of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 (ESEA) have raised questions as to whether funds are flowing into the most appropriate channels, or whether a good part of the money is drained off in poorly conceived and improperly managed programs not conducive to the results sought. Much of this loss might be avoided if those seeking funds were accountable for results by submitting proposals based upon specified performance objectives, including a clear statement of the conditions, evidence, and standards to be used to show the degree to which the objectives had been met. Such proposals could be solicited in response to a request for performance. The agreement arrived at through bids or other arrangements could then take the form of a performance contract.

A clearer formulation of goals could not help but clarify the instructional means to be followed in achieving them. When a student is able to demonstrate in concrete terms what he has or has not learned, educators and the funding agencies will be in a better position to judge where and why a program succeeds or fails and be able to make the necessary changes to achieve success.

Thus, a proposal for funds to improve reading might stipulate that 90 per cent of the students participating in a proposed program would satisfy criteria demonstrating the achievement of a particular grade-level increase in the time proposed. Or in requesting funds for a teacher-training program, the agency making the request might prescribe the teaching skills to be imparted and the criteria for measuring the "proficiency level" at which these skills will be exercised by participants in the program. The funded agency would then be prepared to explain any failure to achieve the per-

formance levels on which such a contract is based, preferably in terms of suggested changes in the program that might be expected to guarantee the results initially stipulated.

In the main, educators have failed to develop performance criteria for measuring the effectiveness of instructional programs; many programs now funded and under way contain no description of what students are expected to gain at any point from their educational experiences. Instructional program objectives are often cast in terms of vague goals, such as promising to provide students with an opportunity to learn how to communicate effectively. Instead, objectives should be stated in such specific terms as these: "Given three days and the resources of the library, the student completing this program will be able to write a 300 to 500 word set of specifications for constructing a model airplane that another student could follow and build."

Limitations and Promises

There are, of course, larger objectives in education; these are difficult to define and impossible to measure as the consequence of any given program. The training components of education, such as the basic skills of reading and arithmetic, are most amenable to performance contracts. It would be a very great error to go beyond the training component at this time. The only aspects of education eligible for inclusion in a performance contract are those that can be operationally defined and to which acceptable methods of assessment can be applied.

But the fact that many results of education are subjective and not subject to conventional measurement should not deter us from dealing precisely with those aspects of education that lend themselves to precise definition and assessment. Rather, it demands that we do make maximum use of these individual parts that tell us what the change in the whole has been. If

it is truly our goal to help our children transcend their education in completing it, we must begin by giving this education a strong basis in fact.

A performance contract approach to federal resource allocations promises greater economy in the use of federal funds to education and in the allocation of general education resources as well. Educational objectives pinned to predictable, measurable, student performance would offer a much needed basis for measuring program cost against program effectiveness. Such cost accounting, in turn, would promote more effective allocation of existing resources between competing educational programs. When monetary and other educational resources are focused on arriving at observable measurable outcomes, the resources required to bring a given student to a level of performance that does justice to his capacities can be identified and applied. When this happens, we may be on the verge of a renaissance in education for which all of us have been waiting.

There are larger issues raised in attempting to achieve accountability for results through performance contracts. The most basic relates to the manner in which government intervenes in the social field. There are others. Performance contracting should be viewed as an experiment, not as a panacea or a plague. It will be three to five years before disinterested and scholarly assessments can be made. In the meantime, certain provisional statements can be made:

This approach may help us to avoid repeating the mistakes of the past, by providing the citizens of this country with a means of knowing how effective new practices are performing.

Government can concentrate on its primary job of decision making. Government, representing the people can identify the problem and decide what objectives must be met to solve it. Government may be able to delegate part of the educational work to non-governmental organizations who seek to do it. Private organizations, business or otherwise, may have addi-

tional capabilities to find the best methods to solve problems.

The approach makes it possible to abandon an experiment that fails and to try another method. It likewise makes it possible to set standards that must be met and then enforce them. It defines the results that are wanted and declares that within a given time it will compare the results achieved with the results expected and act accordingly.

Independent Accomplishment Audit

Only if free of self-serving bias, are reports reliable when made by school officials on their stewardship of public funds in behalf of achieving specific educational benefits for children. The public served—and this includes the students required to participate—is entitled to know that such a report does not reflect merely the school officials' description of achievement.

Independent fiscal reports have been applied to the fiscal side of education for many years with great success. The independent fiscal audit not only has resulted in the virtual abolition of shady financial practice, but has permitted the professional recording, classifying, and interpretation of the economic facts in a manner designed to produce data that encourages and permits effective management.

The *independent accomplishment audit* (IAA) follows a process similar to that used in a fiscal audit. The emphasis, however, is on learning—on student performance—as a result of financial outlays.

Concern among the electorate for results in education is a relatively recent development. It is apparent that we have moved from the stage of providing resources for student opportunities to a demand for information regarding the extent to which the resources have resulted in student learning. This is especially true of educational benefits conventionally known as the basic skills. One powerful indication of this significant shift from a resource-allocation orientation to an accountability-for-results

orientation is found in a review of the brief history of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965. The act concentrates massive federal resources upon the problems of institutional renewal and direct service to the poor and disadvantaged. It was written in the context of providing resources such as equipment, teachers, space, books, and the like. But the questions put by Congress in the several years since the passage of the act have moved beyond how the money was spent and for whom; they bear increasingly on whether the students are learning, securing jobs, or falling behind. This insistence on accountability for results has led to the imposition of new requirements for evaluation and to a national assessment of education. This is the political soil from which the independent accomplishment audit has grown.

The *independent accomplishment audit* relies upon outside judgment of results or accomplishments. It has six essential parts: the pre-audit, the translation of local goals into demonstrable data, the adoption and creation of instrumentation and methodology, the establishment of a review calendar, the assessment process, and the public report.

A close look at each of the elements in the phrase *independent accomplishment audit* may be a useful way to display its meaning.

Independent. The community served by a school usually has little choice in the information and reports given it by the teachers, administrators, and board of trustees. Citizens and students generally are not in a position to ask that information be prepared according to their specifications, nor do they have assurance outside of mandated fiscal reports that the information is adequate or prepared according to some known set of ground rules.

A distinctive characteristic of the IAA is the concept of a third party review to assess the "truth" as seen by the independent reviewers, without influences that are subjective, defensive, or financial. Reliance on outside objectivity can nurture respect

for the report as an honest accounting of what has happened to children's attitudes, skills, and level of knowledge in relation to locally established objectives and goals. Credibility is enhanced by the fact that a third party has examined the results. Outside review is of fundamental importance in both business and government; its inclusion in the area of instruction is clearly in the best interest of the people.

Accomplishment. Results are the products, services, or other effects created by the school. Results achieved stand in contrast to resources consumed by the school. Every organization has outputs—or at least is intended to have them—even though they may not be readily measurable or even clearly definable. In other words, every organization *does* something and that something is its output. In education what the organization does is to provide teachers and other personnel, materials, space, and certain processes to achieve student accomplishments. These accomplishments, as locally determined and valued, are the results that the outside review records and reports. Inputs may range from easily valued items such as purchased services and parts to intangible items such as professional expertise and architecturally beautiful surroundings. Employee development, satisfaction, and morale are relevant outputs, as are taxpayer satisfaction and support, but student learning is the primary concern—the raison d'etre of education. Student accomplishment is the prime output to be judged by the IAA.

A word about measurement is essential. Measurement is applied judgment. No measurement is exact. Judgments can be made on the basis of interviews, observations, and instruments, such as tests or video tapes. Through the use of small-sample statistical techniques, judgments regarding small numbers of students can indicate the performance of the entire student body served. The basic issue of measurement is the competency of the judge and the reliability and validity of the judgments. The range of judgments can be specified in a classification ranging

from crude to rather exact. This full range of assessment can be utilized in the IAA.

Audit. An audit is a standard review conducted by someone who is qualified and trusted to make objective reports. During the early years of public education, school board members performed an inspection function. Later this was done by superintendents and other officials. Rudiments of the inspection process may still be seen in the annual testing program of many school systems and states and in occasional visits by school officials. The IAA is not a reincarnation of the inspection. Rather it is designed as a management feedback loop, a reliable and objective report to local personnel, commending accomplishments realized and recommending procedures for getting results missed.

It is anticipated that auditors will come from the ranks of professional educators, the laity, universities, and private enterprise. Training will be essential.

The IAA Process

The following description of the IAA process itself should further an understanding of its relevance as a stimulus to accountability. The fact that the process places school people as well as clients in a problem-solving mode is probably its most valuable feature.

The auditor selected by the school system, in a manner similar to that used in selecting personnel for fiscal accounting, starts the IAA process by discussing with the staff (students and community can be involved at this stage) the objectives and plans of the particular program to be reviewed. This phase produces a list of local objectives and a clear description of the programs in some order of priority.

In concert with local people, the auditor determines a clear formulation of the evidence that will be used by the local people to indicate that the objectives have been met and the conditions that will be used to elicit the evidence. This phase

produces a set of specifications revealing what the student will be able to do as a result of the educational experience, the manner in which the evidence will be secured, and the standards which will be applied in interpreting the success of the student in meeting the objectives.

Along with the translation, the auditor determines the instruments—such as tests, questionnaires, and standardized interview—which will be developed or secured to gather the evidence agreed upon in the translation phase. The result of this activity is a set of defined techniques and procedures for data gathering.

An agreement is secured in writing which indicates the nature of the reviews, where they will be held, how long they will take, when they will occur, who is responsible for arrangements, the nature of the arrangements and other logistical considerations. It is essential that the calendar be determined in advance and that all concerned be a party to the agreement and competent to honor the agreement.

The auditing process is a responsibility of the auditor. In this phase, the auditor carries out the procedures agreed upon in the pre-audit, translation, and instrumentation phase as codified in the review calendar.

The auditor files a report at an open meeting giving commendations and recommendations as they relate to the local objectives. The report is designed to indicate in specific terms both accomplishments and ways the program may be made more effective and efficient.

The IAA process is similar to that used in fiscal accounting, providing the means by which an outside individual or group reports on locally valued objectives. It is a new technique designed to put local school personnel and the clients they serve in a problem-solving mode of thinking. It is built around a financial core, since money is a common denominator for the heterogeneous elements of inputs; but the focus is on student attitudes, skills, and knowledge.

Out of the IAA a whole range of useful by-products may be anticipated. First, it may lead to a knowledge of optimum relationships between outputs and inputs, i.e., those that are cost-effective or otherwise to be valued. Second, it can form a basis for the discovery and improvement of good practice in education. Finally, it can renew credibility in the educational process, effect more responsiveness to the needs of children, and supply the understanding necessary to produce change.

The electorate is the most powerful of all our political entities. If techniques can be developed to convince people generally of the benefits of responsible leadership through accountability for results, those interested in furthering education can be more effective in supporting and improving the educational enterprise.

Developmental Capital and Accountability

Money available in a predictable and secure manner for responsible investment to produce results is the energy of accountability. Probably the most important factor limiting responsiveness to needed changes is the strict line-item budget—the standard budget form for the school enterprise. People who have not ridden horses make very poor teachers of horsemanship; people without money to invest and freedom to make investments cannot be innovative or make needed changes. Without decision-making responsibility, accountability is a hollow concept.

Developmental capital is the money set aside for investment by school personnel in activities that produce the results described in the IAA. Business typically budgets amounts varying from 3 to 15 per cent for research and development designed to produce better products, better service, more sales, or more capability to produce these items. Until the passage of the Vocational Education Act of 1963 and the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 there was virtually no

money earmarked for this general purpose in education. With the passage of these acts, there is now approximately one-third of 1 per cent available for this type of investment.

The basic purpose of developmental capital is to provide a financial resource to stimulate and sustain reexamination and modernization of the educational system. The investment of "risk" capital can generate new educational traditions by applying the developmental aspects of business success to the public sector.

School systems too often are characterized by archaic budgeting systems; poor use of buildings, staff, and equipment; low salaries that are unrelated to performance; inadequate personnel development; poorly developed promotion systems for teachers; outmoded organization; inadequate equipment and materials; primitive technology; and repetitious and uninspired instruction.

Effecting necessary change requires discretionary funds that are not now available to local school leaders. In the absence of an infusion of new monies for development, dissemination, and installation of new products and practices, the gap between the demand for higher quality education and performance is likely to widen further.

With developmental capital set-asides, renewal can be directed through federal, state, and local channels, and activity can be aimed at improving management leadership capabilities. All three levels of government can work in conjunction with each other and with the private sector. At each level a particular focus can be attempted.

Funds at the federal level can be applied to "high risk" investments. This is the only governmental level that can commit the amount of dollars and manpower to accomplish research and development. Another major consideration at the federal level of government is the identification of successful practices around the nation. Renewal capital can be used to determine the most pressing management and operational needs of school

administrators and to identify successful school management and classroom practices. A nationwide search needs to be organized to identify educational approaches that are effective as well as schools which have resolved major administrative and instructional problems.

In addition to collecting information on successful practices, the federal government must also gather information on educational problems needing concentrated attention. Funds for this purpose should be available.

State educational leaders need capital to increase the effectiveness of their state departments of education. There are two forms of renewal capital now in the states. They are Title V and Title III of ESEA, both of which are devoted to educational renewal. One strengthens the program offerings at the state level, while the other strengthens the program offerings at the local district level. The missing link is improved management coordination and the provision of communication facilities and techniques between state and local authorities.

State developmental capital can be used to furnish incentives to reward performance on state priorities. Such an incentive payment program can more effectively help states meet their predetermined needs. Money used as a "motivator" by state governments can serve to give impetus to better use of their other financial resources by concentrating on specifically identified and selected state needs.

The incentive options can be geared to improving the status of a particular state during a specified period against its own previous performance. An example of an incentive goal might be to decrease the statewide dropout rate against the average rate of the two preceding years.

Renewal capital at the local level can be a powerful spur to help individual school districts modernize and improve both instruction and the management capability to support it. Money available for investment by local leaders—tied to their own clear, hard formulations of desirable results and an objective

system for verifying actual results—can have benefits similar to those now being achieved by investment capital in business and industry.

The Producer-Consumer School District Contract

There are many ways in which developmental capital might be used. One possibility, called producer-consumer school district contract, involves the sharing of good locally developed educational practice. Pieces and parts of exemplary models exist throughout the nation. But missing is an effective way to insure adoption, diffusion, and dissemination. The producer-consumer contract development program would provide money for study, planning, training of personnel, and installation of good practices that the local people seek to develop. This particular use of developmental capital consists of three parts: self-analysis, inspection and selection, and installation.

Participating school districts submit a two-part operational performance against a series of specific organizational and operational criteria. Once the purposes, priorities, and policies of the local school district are pinpointed, attention is directed to the second part of the operational plan—what is to be installed through renewal capital.

When the local school district has completed a successful self-analysis, it turns to inspection and selection of model programs necessary to meet priorities and seeks to enter into a "consumer" relationship with a "producer" school district possessing the successful, desired educational component.

In order to conduct an efficient search, the local school district, working closely with the state department of education, makes use of information compiled through the developmental activities of other levels of government. The federal government will have provided each state department of education with a complete, cataloged file of successful educational management instructional technology throughout the country. The state department, having been involved in both the identification

process and the analysis procedure at the local level, identifies producer school districts that have the potential of satisfying the needs of the consumer district, and helps the consumer district decide which producer districts it wishes to inspect.

Site visits are made by the consumer districts to producer districts for the purpose of identifying a successful practice which can be replicated. Funds are available to the consumer district for stationing personnel on site for an extended period for observation, exchanging materials, bringing producer school personnel to see the current conditions at the consumer school, and involving school board and community members in final selection. Appropriate state department personnel can be included here as well. The consumer district is concerned with adapting and modifying as well as simply copying a worthwhile educational practice.

During the renewal process the consumer district can be responsible for fulfilling two primary obligations:

First, paying the producer school district a sum for each day of site examination: These funds might come from the consumer school district's renewal capital account and serve as incentive rewards for producer schools to continue good educational practices.

Second, conducting a simple evaluation for the other levels of government on each site examination. This procedure can serve as a check and balance system to keep the "good practice" inventory up-to-date and valid.

The culmination of the renewal process comes with the development of a performance contract between the consumer district and the selected producer district to reproduce the desired practice.

When the consumer-producer contract has been signed, renewal capital assists in the installation of the program. Renewal capital pays a large proportion of the installation cost, while the school district may be responsible for the other fraction. Installation costs could be incurred in a range of

activities that vary from putting in hardware management systems to hiring specialized personnel for improving the management process.

Funds might be used to reward good staff ideas and discretionary monies might be awarded to principals or classroom teachers who have well-conceived plans for small, applied developmental activities.

The three-step procedure described for local school districts may have additional side benefits that further the total impact of developmental capital. In addition to improving the selected process, the installation of good management practice may result in additional savings to the school district. With the extra funds to continue investigating and implementing better methods, schools can learn more efficient and effective techniques for their entire operation and thus free monies to establish a mechanism for continual self-renewal.

Producer-consumer school technique could expand into a "network for successful practice" and become the focal point for change in education.

Because the producer district will enter into contract with a consumer district and receive funds for supervising and accepting responsibility to introduce successful educational counterparts into the consumer district, it too may need managerial assistance. With the funds received from the consumer district, the producer district may need to subcontract with private enterprise to develop the best techniques under which it can offer replication service. The producer district may want to establish "change teams" which might include teachers, students, and community people.

Other Uses of Developmental Capital

An example of the use of developmental capital in a local school district may serve to illustrate the concept and its relationship to accountability for results. The author, as superintendent of a large California school district, was allowed to

manage approximately one per cent of the operating budget of the school district (some $250,000) as an investment account. Board policy also permitted the set-aside of 1 per cent of all funds raised from federal, state, and private sources. During the period of 1965 to 1968, this set-aside account was used to invest in competitive teacher-student-administrator proposals tied to demonstrable objectives. This was done with the assistance of an elected teachers' group called the Academy of Instruction and also with the cooperation of students, administrators, community members and the board of education.

The results of this activity in beneficial changes in student accomplishment, teacher morale and effectiveness, and administrator behavior have been striking. A know-and-care educational resources center, a zero-reject reading laboratory, a physical fitness testing center, a humanities center, and the incorporation of vocational programs into the fundamental reorganization of an entire school are only a few of the results. The 1 per cent set-aside was used as a rudder to cause change affecting the entire budget.

One developmental effort undertaken with funds from this investment account brought about the production of a film designed to familiarize students with the dangers of LSD and other drugs. The film proved to be so successful and popular that sales to other school systems earned the producing district a profit of about $100,000 which was added to the investment account for further activities.

This experience indicates the use of investment capital to insure commercial quality in materials created as part of an innovative or educational renewal effort. Commercial producers might be employed as advisors to the project to help insure production of better-quality special materials and to enlist the active interest of the firm in seeking more widespread adoption of the new materials. The producing school and the commercial entrepreneur might share in resulting profits, with the school's share being reinvested in further educational renewal efforts.

Recently the National School Boards Association passed a resolution urging a 2 per cent set-aside for developmental purposes to be supplied from federal sources. The superintendent of schools in Dallas also recently obtained 1 per cent on the tax rate for similar purposes. The State of Florida has allocated $1,250,000 as developmental capital to prepare a variety of student output measures using the performance contract approach with universities, teachers associations, and private enterprise. Other examples could be cited. Inasmuch as from 75 to 90 per cent of local school system budgets are tied to salary, some mechanism for stimulating flexibility, creativity, and accountability is needed. Developmental capital has that potential.

An Escrow Account in Education

Accountability may be enhanced in public education by the introduction of competition from either inside or outside a school system. This competition might be the product of fiscal incentives and a utilization of the market mechanism. For example, one way to obtain competition in compensatory training for disadvantaged students would be the creation of an escrow account. From this account, designated parents in the poverty category could obtain a voucher for use in accredited schools or private agencies according to performance stipulations. The following is a suggested plan.

A school system receiving Title I dollars sets aside an amount in an escrow fund. Vouchers, equaling the amount of the escrow fund—the value of which is determined by the child's need for compensatory education—are distributed to parents of a selected number of children. Parents of the selected children choose the educational agency to which they want to send their child for a portion of the day for compensatory training on a guaranteed performance basis.

The school systems and other alternative education service

suppliers negotiate individual contracts with the parents, guaranteeing a specific level of achievement required for payment to the voucher.

Through this negotiation, the parents and the schools obtain incentive leverage to give the children the truest and surest form of compensatory education.

A program of this kind might have several major effects by creating a true educational market mechanism in which all interested suppliers of educational services compete to please the consumer. The suppliers might include public school systems and individual schools within the system, private schools, and private corporations.

The escrow-account concept can increase parent and community participation in educational matters. Given both responsibility and authority, parents undoubtedly will be motivated to participate more actively in educational decisions. Moreover, because the local principal will have greater decision-making authority (i.e., recruitment and student selection), a natural decentralization will occur. At the same time, due to the homogeneity of parent demands within communities, the services provided by the school will be responsive to the the community needs in order to realize economy of scale.

The plan will foster accountability. Whatever the contract is—to raise the goals of the student or to raise his reading level—the supplier will be held accountable for the success of his services. It will increase the over-all quality of instruction because the consumer will pick the better schools through the spur of competition. Moreover, because of economic scale in the better schools, the costs (taxes) per unit of achievement will decrease. And it will make education relevant to the desires of the parent and the needs of the child. Lack of relevance is one of the major criticisms of education today.

The suppliers will compete on the basis of guaranteed grade-level increase or other performance factors which the parents desire. Parental demands, which tend to approximate

preestablished local norms, could include the following categories in addition to basic skills: motivation, study-skills development, ethnic studies, and vocational training.

A Summing-up and a Proposal

Discontent with the schools as they now are is widespread. Much of this discontent arises because so many students in the central city schools fall two or more years behind the national average in reading and arithmetic. More discontent arises because so many children dislike school and drop out. Still more arises because many students and educators find the schools rigid and more concerned with discipline—some schools say necessarily so—than with education.

Some of the discontent arises because the objectives of education and the relevance of current education to our society are obscure. Some of the discontent arises because the fundamental theories of learning and of teaching have not yet been established, and we do not really know how to achieve all the objectives we set. We want students to be happy in school and to find pleasure in learning throughout their lives. But these objectives are not met for many children.

We know a great deal more than we are putting into practice. On the basis of careful studies and voluminous reports, generated by the billions of dollars spent in the various titles of federal educational legislation during the last five years, we have many examples that illustrate favorable opportunities for improving school productivity. These include:

Elementary schools in which children are allowed considerable individual choice of what they study within an educationally rich environment—animals, maps, typewriters, calculating machines, scientific equipment, paints, and so forth—the program being designed to insure that the children enjoy school while achieving results.

Schools that place great emphasis on older children tutor-

ing younger ones and where community service is encouraged and properly managed;

Schools with strong emphasis on individually prescribed instruction so that each child can progress at his own rate within the curriculum;

Work-study schools—where students go to school part time and have part-time jobs—to provide a link between education and the world outside;

Schools with emphasis on learning outside of the schoolroom, with visits to study in museums, factories, libraries, farms, and hospitals, as well as schools in which greater use is made of instruction by TV at home or in school;

Schools in which a student uses a particular school only as a home base for his activities and may pick and choose in a competitive system among various schools for various activities;

Schools in which parents or students or members of the community or all of them actively participate in planning the school and in all its activities.

Here the author would like to put forward a proposal.

At the present time there is too little systematic effort to conduct the research, study performance, or develop the materials that are needed if citizens are to understand and control their tax-supported servants and to keep those servants from becoming their masters. Nor is there an organized effort to learn how agency policies or strategies are made, how resources are allocated, and what they accomplish. There needs to be a corrective force that will enable people to question budgets and professional practice wisely and to insist on intelligent reform.

The creation of a broadly based society to enhance accountability for results would be helpful. Such a society would have three objectives: the conduct of research in accountability, the training of leaders, and the dissemination of findings.

This society could carry on its activities in cooperation with universities and the private sector. Society officers might serve a clearinghouse function because of their competence in

management, technology, assessment, and the like. Through a Journal of Accountability in Education the public could identify serious gaps between what is actually done in their educational institutions and what can or should be done. The society would be a positive force because it would continuously recommend ways in which the gaps could be narrowed and objectives met.

The major assumption of this chapter has been that the single most important spur to an active search and commitment to change on the part of the nation's schools is to hold them accountable for results. The idea of accountability has been explored by describing programs and techniques such as independent accomplishment audits, performance contracts, developmental capital, escrows, and a public society to foster accountability in the schools.

Perhaps the most fitting summary is provided by the desperate action of a mayor of a drought-stricken Mexican town. Robert Silverberg in *The Challenge of Climate: Man and His Environment* quotes the ultimatum issued by the mayor to the clergy to hold them accountable for results: "If within the peremptory period of eight days from the date of this decree rain does not fall abundantly, no one will go to mass or say prayers . . . If the drought continues eight days more, the churches and chapels shall be burned, and missals, rosaries, and other objects of devotion will be destroyed . . . If, finally, in a third period of eight days it shall not rain, all the priests, friars, nuns and saints, male and female, will be beheaded."[2]

Fortunately for the clergy, Providence responded to this no-nonsense approach by sending torrential downpours within four days.

We do not have quite the same means for holding officials accountable. But the moral is clear, is it not? Results are what count, not promises or lamentations.

3. Training Teachers of the Disadvantaged: Blueprint for a Breakthrough

James C. Stone

"We came to this conclusion: the teachers of the disadvantaged are desperate. They are so desperate they welcome *any* training activity that seems likely to help them even a little bit in their struggle to cope with the problems of teaching disadvantaged students. In these circumstances, they do not seem to have very strong preferences for one type of training activity over another; they like them all for their purposes, if they are conducted well enough to serve their purposes at all."

This is a finding of a recent study of 2,000 teachers who participated in Titles I or III of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA) and Title XI of the National Defense Education Act (NDEA) projects, which offered special training for teachers of the disadvantaged.[1] It states eloquently the very urgent need for sweeping reform of teacher education in the United States. The central question posed here concerns the institutional changes required to accomplish this.

All past attempts to reform teacher training[2] have failed to recognize that the social institutions in which teacher education is embedded—the schools, the colleges, state departments of education—were created by society not for the purpose of bringing about change and innovation but rather for preserving the status quo. As guardians of the establishment, the

schools, institutions of higher education, and the regulatory agencies of the states were specifically created to see that change does *not* take place. The primary function of these educational agencies—as has been true of education since the days of primitive man—is to pass on the cultural heritage to the coming generation. Designed to preserve what is, they have been staffed largely by those who are wholly committed to this end. Few teachers, for example, see their role as agents of change. The result is that reform efforts have done little to break the patterns of traditional teacher education.

As long as education and its handmaiden, teacher education, are shaped by college, public school, and state department traditions, both will remain substantially as they are now. Attempted reforms will come and go without making an appreciable impact either on higher education and the schools or on state departments of public instruction, where teacher education has its roots.

If ever we hope to break what George Counts, writing some twenty-five years ago, called "the lock-step in teacher training," we must create new organizational structures. We cannot stop merely with modifying the present establishment; we must begin afresh. It is worth recalling the statement by Henry H. Hill, the president for many years of George Peabody College for Teachers, one of the two remaining U.S. teachers' colleges still in existence. If the successors to teachers' colleges, Hill said, "become average and humdrum arts colleges and lose their interest in teachers, another generation will have to start teachers' colleges all over again."[3]

This paper describes a new model that takes something from the past—the idea of a separate social institution for teacher training—and adds several new dimensions that are crucial for the education of the teachers of the disadvantaged. This model is premised on the view that *teacher training for the disadvantaged must be planned and conducted at the grass-roots level and must intimately involve the local school and*

neighborhood, with responsibility lodged in an agency controlled by those client-groups that comprise the local community.

The author's name for this new social institution is the Education Professions Institute. The EPI is offered as a theoretical model of a breakthrough for training teachers of the disadvantaged, if not for all teachers. For those of us who have been in the teacher-education business most of our professional lives, proposing an alternative and competing agency to the one that has nurtured us is a difficult task. As Douglas Minnis has said, "No one likes to point out that the king is naked. If you are the tailor, it is especially difficult."[4]

The Shared Failure

In several previous publications, the author has pointed out the failure of traditional teacher education,[5] a failure that is particularly alarming with respect to the total lack of accomplishment in recruiting, training, retraining, and retaining ghetto teachers. This failure is equally shared by the colleges, the schools, the states, and the educational profession.

The Colleges. Most colleges have not taken seriously their responsibility to educate teachers. As institutions, their efforts largely have been incidental—tangential to other missions that they see as more important, such as preparing liberal arts graduates or, at the professional level, doctors and lawyers. Certainly, in the present most crucial need of teacher training—preparing teachers of the disadvantaged—colleges and universities are far removed from the problem. Since institutions of higher education have not taken seriously the social obligation of teacher training, they cannot be forced into active social responsibility. And since the most significant aspect of this training must occur in the ghetto and in classrooms of disadvantaged children, why not move this unwanted stepchild from the colleges?

The Schools. For years, public and private schools merely

accepted WASP teachers trained by the colleges (however adequately or inadequately) and sent them back occasionally for refresher courses and advanced degrees. Similarly, the schools have passively accepted student and intern teachers and permissively provided them with whatever laboratory experiences the college or university requested. In more recent times, aided and abetted by federal grants, school systems have developed their own in-service education programs, to which teachers have come in large numbers and which have been generally applauded.

Building on this newly acquired know-how, the schools should also logically become the pre-service educators of teachers, particularly those of the disadvantaged, thus replacing the institutions of higher education. For the increasing numbers of public schools involved in internship programs, this would be a logical and simple step. Assistant superintendents in charge of staff development are being appointed with greater frequency in the schools. These qualified individuals might direct and organize pre-service teacher education, just as they now successfully organize and direct in-service training. An obvious benefit of such a step would be to close the gap that so long has existed between pre-service and in-service education. Internship programs were expected to achieve this, but unfortunately few have.

In publicly supported education, this shift of responsibility would involve only a simple transfer of funds from higher education to elementary and secondary education. Such a shift would create in every school system a division of teacher education comprising in-service and pre-service functions. Such a division would be closer to the operational level than the present college education departments and university schools of education, bound up as they are in the bureaucracies, politics, and the distractions of higher education. Yet public education—burdened as it is by inertia, irresponsive bureaucracy, middle-class traditions, over-legislation, and under-

financing—has already failed in the ghetto. To expect the present school establishment to create the kind of centers that have been described earlier, and to maintain them on a wide-scale basis and at high levels, is unrealistic.

The State. The education of teachers long has been recognized as a state responsibility. Originally states took this obligation seriously and provided special institutions—the normal school, the teachers' college—as their prime vehicle for pre-service and in-service education. The last decade has seen the demise of these single-purpose institutions. Most have evolved into state colleges interested equally in the education of other occupational groups as well as of teachers (teachers in general rather than teachers of the disadvantaged). The recent conversion of these institutions to state universities has continued and hastened the decline of interest in teacher education on the collegiate level.

Meanwhile, state departments of education have been content to confine their teacher education obligations to the certification of teachers and the accreditation of colleges and universities for teacher education. In most states the accreditation function amounts to an approval system based primarily on whether the institutions offer the specific courses prescribed by the certification office. Because state departments have failed to provide leadership, it has been remarked, "A no-man's land is created for the college-school function (of teacher training) which is typically characterized by dual administration, improper financing, and conflicting supervision."[6]

The Profession. World War II created a critical shortage of teachers and was followed by an unprecedented increase in the birthrate, which simply intensified the teacher shortage. Out of this crisis came the "professional standards movement" in which the National Education Association (NEA) took the leadership through the formation of its Commission on Teacher Education and Professional Standards in 1946. All of those connected with this movement over the past twenty-

five years—at local, state, and national levels—enthusiastically testify about its many accomplishments.

Yet the simple fact is that the average teacher is still neither interested in nor informed about teacher education and the professional processes, such as certification, accreditation, in-service training, personnel standards, and the like. At school conferences, few general sessions are devoted to the topic of teacher training. Section meetings on training, certification, accreditation, or ethics are sparsely attended by teachers, in contrast to the standing-room-only signs for sections on salary, negotiating councils, collective bargaining, and so forth. As for conferences on teacher education, they are attended by a few public school "master" teachers and personnel directors, to be sure, but mostly by college or university professors of education.

We cannot blame the teachers. We have never really opened the doors of teacher education to them. When it comes to pre-service training, we college people have given a few public school supervising teachers a look inside, but we have not dared to let them get further than recommending the grade the student or intern teacher should receive. (Yet the college supervisors, who only visit the student teacher about two or three times a semester, are empowered with the final judgment.) When it comes to in-service training, teachers are merely the recipients of our ideas but are seldom involved in the planning of what is needed and desirable for them.

We could open the door wider and make faculty members of supervising teachers in the public schools. We could give them pre-service teaching responsibilities for the whole professional sequence instead of merely offering seminars on student-teaching problems to a few of them. We could set up procedures whereby teachers actually plan, organize, and conduct their own in-service training. Any such moves would be in the right direction. But there is scant hope that these

forms of tokenism by themselves will induce a concern for teacher education throughout this profession.

The Problem of Control and Governance

The results of the study mentioned at the outset of this paper suggest that different curriculum models are appropriate for different purposes, regardless of the community setting in which the training programs are conducted, just so long as the over-all training objectives are sufficiently comprehensive.

> It seems appropriate to assert that local school districts, in cooperation, and even collaboration, with colleges and universities, are the agencies most likely to be able to provide the experiences, activities, and facilities necessary (or at least desirable) for the comprehensive training programs we are proposing for teachers of the disadvantaged. At issue is the matter of how these two agencies—local school districts and colleges—can effectively combine their resources with those of the communities in which the disadvantaged live and have their being.[7]

In the considered judgment of the research team that conducted the investigation, model curricula for the training of teachers of the disadvantaged can be most efficiently and effectively initiated, organized, and implemented by an educational agency closely tied to the community. First, this agency should be "situated more advantageously in relation to the resources, opportunities, and problems of local communities and school districts than colleges and universities usually are." Second, it should be "operated more independently from social, economic and political pressures for particular uses of resources and opportunities and for specific solutions to those problems than local school districts usually are." The report outlined the characteristics required of such an agency.

> The institution which we regard as most appropriate for the professional education and training of teachers—not

> only teachers of the disadvantaged but all teachers—would have the following features: It would (1) provide training which was centered in the ghetto, the bario, the reservation, (2) emphasize participation, encountering, confrontation of all persons involved as the basis for the teachers' (or prospective teachers') learning about theories, concepts, principles, (3) be governed by representatives of *all* of the groups providing the necessary resources—the local community, the local school district, the college or university, the trainees themselves, the profession, and (4) draw its staff from *all* of the agencies providing the resources, thus employing as teachers of teachers the students, parents, community agency workers, and civic leaders of the local community, as well as the public school teachers and supervisors in the local school districts, the faculty and graduate students of colleges and universities, and other professional specialists.

Assuming that there is merit in the researchers' suggestions, the question remains: How and where can the model curricula and programs best be mounted, and under what administrative arrangement would the best chance of immediate and effective implementation occur? The clue to a new institutional model is contained in a summary of the interview findings: "These teachers were convinced that training activities must be planned and conducted *from* and *at* the grass roots level, rather than *by* or *at* the district office or the college, removed as they are from the local school and neighborhood."

A number of new administrative vehicles for training teachers come to mind that have similar, if not identical, features. Some public schools and colleges have organized so-called special learning centers that offer remedial, developmental, and supplementary instruction for disadvantaged pupils. Others have initiated curriculum and instructional materials centers that develop and through field tests evaluate innovative

instructional units for disadvantaged pupils; still others have tried demonstration-laboratory centers offering either comprehensive school programs or programs of special classes for disadvantaged pupils and their parents.

The organization and operation of a multi-purpose center for teacher education is a cooperative and collaborative arrangement between a college or university and a local school district or school. The instructional and administrative staff of the center is drawn from both agencies. Rather than being conducted regularly and exclusively on a college campus, the principal activities of the center are conducted either in a public school or in a facility immediately adjacent to one. Among other activities, the program of the center includes workshops, seminars, extension courses, and similar training activities for the teachers of disadvantaged pupils. In sum, such multi-purpose centers conduct comprehensive, coherently articulated, and coordinated programs, on a cooperative and collaborative basis, for the immediate and direct benefit of disadvantaged pupils and their teachers.

As an institutional model, the multi-purpose center would seem to be worthy of emulation in every respect save one: the model must be improved in terms of *control and governance.*

From what is known of the paradigm of change,[8] as well as the bureaucracy of the educational establishment and the rigidity of the traditions that hamper most schools and colleges, it is difficult to see how the multi-purpose center can be the long-term answer. In the form proposed, the center cannot induce the radical reforms and dramatic changes needed in order to successfully recruit, train, retrain, and retain teachers of the disadvantaged. However, the governing authority of the center need not be a single college or school district, or a consortium involving a district and a nearby college or university. It can be a trusteeship including representation from these groups and also local community agencies.[9] Other combinations are possible.

In any event, the joint authority formed to govern the model institution must provide for more equitable delegation of responsibility and distribution of decision-making functions. The theoretical model that is now described has been designed with this in mind.

The EPI as a Theoretical Model

The Education Professions Institute would be a separate agency of higher education with a distinct and differentiated function.[10] The unique purpose of the EPI would be to provide professional training for teachers-to-be, teacher aides, associate teachers, intern teachers, regular teachers, master teachers, and teachers of teachers through the bachelor's and master's degrees. It would draw recruits of all ages from the community in which it was located—high school dropouts as well as graduates of high schools, junior colleges, four-year colleges, and universities. Those teachers and prospective teachers who had not grown up in a ghetto would be expected to both live and work in the local community for a significant part of their training period.

Financial support for such institutes might come from a variety of sources. Some might be funded entirely by the state or by the federal government; others might be supported in whole or in part by private foundations, business or industrial groups, or professional associations. *Initially, the institute would offer an alternative to present agencies of teacher training, and thus provide healthy competition to existing college, university, and school district operations. In time, the* EPI *might completely replace colleges and schools as the trainers of teachers.*

Regardless of its sources of financial support, the EPI should be viewed as the extension of the state's responsibility for teacher education. Or perhaps it is more accurate to say it would represent the resumption by the state of the respon-

sibility it always has had but has failed to exercise since the demise of the teachers' college. The institute would be accredited by the state for developmental and experimental purposes. Special licensing provisions would need to be established in the states for those teachers completing EPI training. This is not to suggest a lowering of standards, but rather the establishment of different standards for a different group in order to accomplish a purpose not now adequately met by any existing social agency.

The EPI would draw its faculty from the communities in which it is located—from the local schools, adjacent colleges and universities, and other social, governmental, business and industrial agencies. While strictly a professional institution, the EPI might admit prospective teachers and paraprofessionals at any point in their college career when they were deemed ready to begin professional training. During any semester of enrollment, the trainees would be paid by the institute, the state, and the local school for rendering teaching or community services of various kinds. This paid-to-learn feature is especially significant in terms of recruiting from the ghetto community itself. In-service teachers would enroll in the institute for afternoon or evening workshops, seminars, or summer colloquiums, conferences, institutes, sabbaticals, and the like. They would be aided by scholarships provided by local, state, and federal governments; foundations; the business community; professional associations; and school-district sabbatical leaves.

The single most distinguishing feature of the EPI would be that it is a *teaching* institution. Its educational style would be learning to teach by teaching; all trainees would be involved in some form of teaching as the central focus of their learning activities—everyone teaching something to someone, to borrow the familiar phrase.

The EPI is envisioned as a prestige agency, paying better salaries, for example, to its faculty than do traditional colleges,

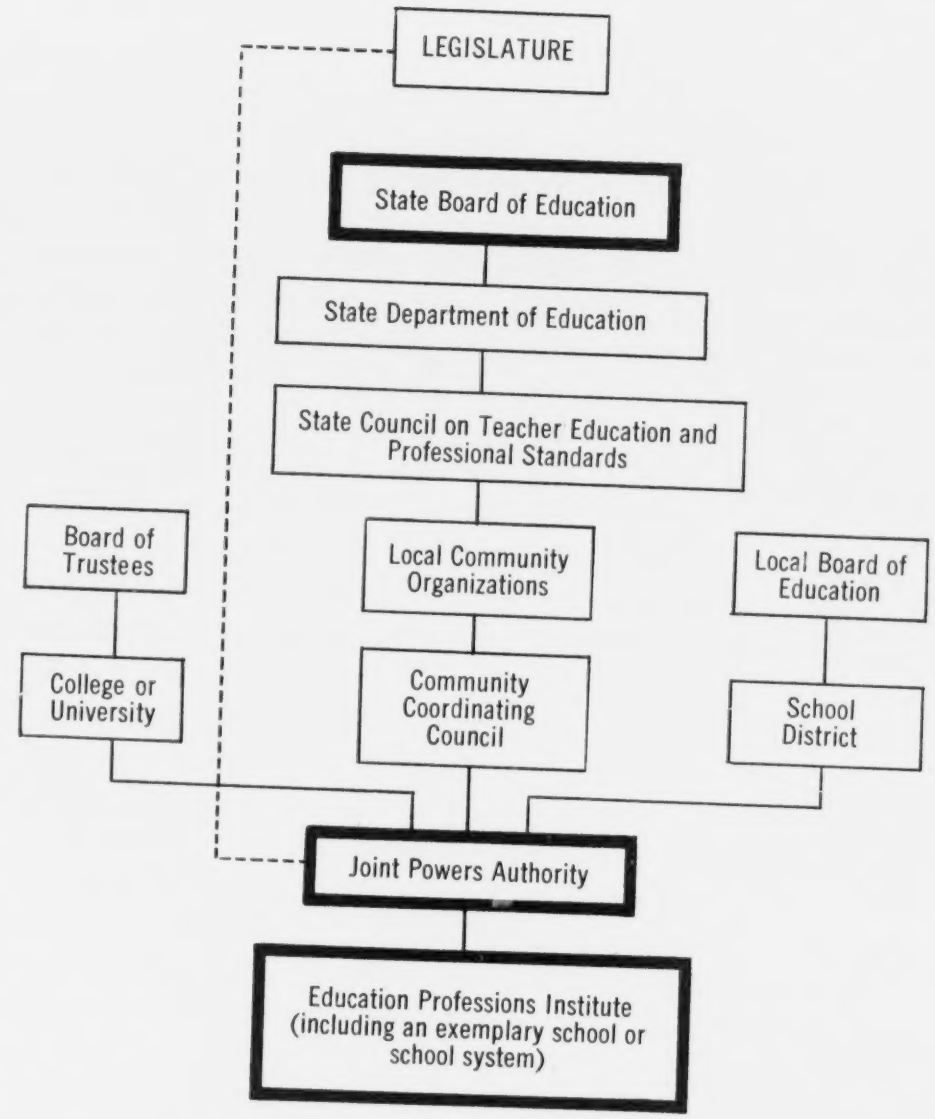
universities, or school systems. This would be a truly professional graduate school analogous to the medical school, the law school, the divinity school. Its program for the education of teachers of teachers would involve research focused on professional problems in the teaching-learning process.

Faculty members would have equal status and prestige no matter whether their responsibilities were in the "theoretical" or "practical" aspects of teacher training, each individual being equally involved in both. The heart of the EPI would be either a group of exemplary schools or a school system that it would adopt or organize. The institute and the school would be housed together, and professional education would result from the instructional problems encountered in teaching children. Laboratory experiences in classrooms and neighborhoods of the disadvantaged would be the central focus of the preservice and in-service program. The professional curriculum would be tailored to each individual and would be so organized that every trainee during his stay at the institute would be involved simultaneously in classroom or community experiences and theoretical seminars, under the supervision of a team of instructors working with a particular group of trainees.

The EPI would have the advantage of being close to the schools, yet removed one step from the politics of local school systems. However funded, it would be administered by and for the local community and trainee clientele. The state education department, the local school district, and cooperating institutions of higher education would have a cooperative and consultative relationship with the institute.

The EPI would be ultimately responsible to the state and would be chartered by the state under a joint powers' agreement (see organizational table). This legal entity is provided for in most states, though it has seldom been used in educational affairs, one exception being the arrangements made in handling federally sponsored research and development laboratories. The "powers" brought together to organize the EPI and to

State Organization of an Education Professions Institute



formulate policy for it (within broad state guidelines) would be a local community, the trainees, a college or university, a school system, and the organized profession. These entities would establish an independent local board of control that would have financial and administrative authority to operate the EPI. The five entities initially comprising the governing board might appoint additional representatives, including the public at large.

Within state departments of public instruction, there would be a specific unit of higher education with responsibility to provide leadership for the EPI and coordinate its efforts. The permanent staff would be a small cadre of university people and specialists in urban education. This nucleus would be augmented by annual appointments of a much larger number of consultants and faculty drawn from the institute, the schools, colleges, communities, and other educational agencies.

The curriculum of the EPI would provide for a number of levels of training for a number of different roles. Thus, persons with the equivalent of a high school education might enter the EPI to become teacher aides; those with junior college preparation might become associate teachers; those with bachelor degrees, intern teachers; and those with teaching credentials, master teachers or teachers of teachers. The possibility of movement from one program and role to another would also be provided. All participants would be paid during their period of training, since all would be serving in some educational capacity in the local school or community. Each program would end in employment opportunities.

A school in the ghetto would be the home of the institute, with the local district supplying a room for seminars and an office for the staff. Academic preparation needed by trainees would be provided by nearby colleges on a contractual or cooperative arrangement. In the vernacular of the times, the EPI would be where the action is, i.e., the disadvantaged community itself. And it would stay there in the sense that it would be

controlled in part by the local community. It would address itself solely to the problem: our schools have not only failed to help enough children from low-income families enter the mainstream of society but also they actually have prevented many of them from doing so.

> We are now educating students whose lives will be lived as much in the next century as this one, but our schools and colleges are still based on structures, functions, and curricula more apropos of the last century than the next. . . . For many . . . the judgment has been made that the urban schools are failures because the present ends of the schools are not acceptable as the proper ends by . . . students and parents from impoverished or minority groups.[11]

If our schools have failed, teacher training likewise has failed. We teacher-educators thus are admitted failures, but we can be part of the solution through the EPI. We can draw a lesson from a parallel problem that long has been prevalent in rural America. As in the ghetto today, there was once a great shortage of teachers for rural schools, and they are still in short supply. An attempt to solve the rural problem was made by recruiting young women from the region for training at colleges located in the towns and cities. Upon qualifying for teaching certificates, however, precious few returned to the country to teach. Therefore, in drawing its recruits mainly from the local area, the EPI would train them on the spot in order to increase the likelihood of their remaining in the local schools after being trained to serve there.

In undertaking the research that led to the EPI concept,[12] the author arrived at the conclusion that it is essential for the people in ghetto communities to be active participants in determining their children's education. The community would clearly have a stake in the EPI—a piece of the action. There is a growing attitude of ghetto communities that schools and teacher education institutions no longer serve the ends the community

believes in; this is the cause of the increasing demands and increasingly intense confrontations by black, Mexican-American, Puerto Rican, and American Indian groups. In an EPI, the ghetto community and the trainees not only would have a voice but also a means for remaking their own education and the education of their children.

No one doubts the difficulty of establishing such a new social institution, least of all anyone who has been a tailor, in Minnis' sense, of conventional training in traditional colleges and universities. Yet surely the times demand action, new approaches, radical departures.

Blueprint for the Breakthrough

A specific blueprint for a Black People's Institute of Teacher Education has been developed along the lines of the theoretical EPI model just described.

The details were worked out by representatives of the black community of Hunter's Point in San Francisco, the San Francisco Unified School District, and the University of California at Berkeley and Santa Cruz. This blueprint differs from the theoretical model of an EPI in that it would set up a private agency completely independent of state control and of other public educational agencies, such as school districts and colleges or universities. Likewise, it would offer extensive undergraduate as well as graduate training, academic as well as professional education. In other respects the blueprint is a replica of the theoretical EPI model.

The purpose of the Black People's Institute of Teacher Education is to provide liberal and professional education needed for the training of people of minority backgrounds to become teachers. Special priority will be given to recruiting and preparing people from the Hunter's Point-Bayview-Southeast San Francisco area. However, consideration also will be given to persons from other communities.

The institute is based on the assumption that the community has within itself the ability and the power to make all decisions concerning the education of its children and its teachers. A corollary assumption is that, while the institute is essentially intended to serve black people and to be run by black people, it will be open to applicants of other races and from other communities. A third assumption is that the theoretical notion of an EPI is a bold, new approach to training inner-city teachers that should be tested.[13]

The institute will be established as a private, nonprofit educational agency, owned and operated by the residents of the three San Francisco communities. Because the education committee that developed the plan believes that the characteristics of the liberally educated man are basic to professional competence in teaching, the design of the teacher development program will include the integration of academic and professional studies—along with whatever remedial work needs to be done—in a tailor-made curriculum for each student in the institute. The program will be designed in a unique way to allow for continuous opportunities for trainees to relate theory and practice through work experience, field assignments, and a wide variety of teaching and community service activities.

As the basic unit of self-government, the education committee assumes responsibility for the formation of the institute. Authority for the organization and operation will be vested in a community trustee board, a body selected by a coordinating council.*

Administration is conceived to be a *service function* provided by an administrative team to the governing board, the faculty, and the trainees. The intent is to ensure true community control where educational issues are involved. The community

*There is an understanding that should the program come into being, the community trustee board will include some representatives from the Hunter's Point Youth Council; it may also include one or more educational advisors as ex officio members.

will have direct and continuous access to diverse points of view regarding the educational development of their children and the training of the teachers. The administrative team, appointed by the governing board, will supervise such functions as the over-all coordination of the institute and the coordination of curriculum and instruction, student affairs, research, personnel services, and finance. Coordinators may be assisted by consultants or administrative trainees, depending on the kinds of duties and responsibilities involved.

The Student Body and the Programs

Any person from the community desiring an education will be admitted to the institute regardless of traditional academic deficiencies. A serious effort will be made to recruit and hold high school dropouts who desire to work in an educational agency; parents who reside in the area will also be recruited.

Students in professional education courses at other colleges and universities who wish to enter the institute will be screened by an appropriate committee. The programs for these students will involve teaching and tutoring on a regular and intensive basis. Each student will also have contact with a family (probably the family of one of the children he is tutoring) or with some group of young people; he will be expected to live in the Southeast San Francisco area during the training period. The program will focus on the activity of teaching and tutoring and on direct experience with the people of the three communities.

While the programs for the students recruited from inside and outside the community will differ in emphasis, the approach to the learning experience will be identical and will center on:

Analyzing the learning process. As future teachers, pupils will concern themselves with their relationship to their teachers and to their environment, learning how to focus or cue in on each and on the material being examined.

Coping with the educational needs and potential of students, tutees and their families. While the focus will be on the young students, some facts will be gathered about his educational situation. Is the school adequate? How do school officials and teachers approach their pupils? What is a relevant education? What causes "negative" learning? What causes a dropout? These and other similar questions will concern the trainees.

Understanding the culture. What is cultural deprivation? Are the students and their families culturally deprived or just culturally different from the majority white middle-class culture? Indeed, to what should that culture be compared?

Dealing with the emotions of pupils. Problems of self-identity, aggressiveness in the classroom, violence, and fear hinder learning if uncontrolled. On the other hand, confidence, sense of self, hope for the future are desirable characteristics. How these emotions rise and fall will concern the trainees.

Appropriate institute committees will be responsible for recruiting and admitting students to the Black People's Institute of Teacher Education. Consultants may be used from the community, and colleges and universities to aid in recruiting college students to the institute so that there will be a diversity of trainees. The mixture should include hard-core school dropouts; high school graduates; parents from the community; returning black Vietnam veterans; students with one year, two years, or three years of college education; and students with four years of college who qualify for internship training. Admissions policies will be established by the community trustee board, whose over-all responsibility will be to supervise the quality of the institute.

No tuition will be charged or fees required of students recruited from Southeast San Francisco, the institute's service area. The concept of paid-to-learn will be adhered to.* Appli-

*The blueprint proposes that these amounts be paid students at the various levels of training: first year, $2,000; second year, $2,500; third year, $3,000; fourth year, $4,000. Fifth-year intern teachers will be paid a regular beginning teacher's salary by the employing school district.

cants from outside the service area, who can afford to pay tuition for the special training available at the institute, will pay a fee—the amount to be determined by the governing board and used to augment the institute's scholarship and fellowship fund.

The institute would offer several different programs of study:

One- to three-year programs in academic and professional studies to provide the candidates who have had some college experience for full academic and professional credentials as a beginning teacher;

A post-baccalaureate internship program to provide the four-year candidate, both practically and professionally, with the skills, art, and methodology required for teaching minority community children, as in the Teacher Corps;

A parent-community resource program to provide parents and others with the skills and methodology needed for teaching in modern classrooms as assistant, associate, and intern teachers and teacher aides;

A teacher-tutor program of academic studies using high school dropouts, organized as a Student Teaching Corps;

An in-service teacher education program to provide new experience for teachers who have credentials and who desire to teach in schools located in minority communities and to train master teachers and teachers of teachers;

An in-service training program for school counselors and school administrators who may be assigned to schools in minority communities.

The curriculum will be designed by an appropriate committee of staff and trainees and will contain distinguishing characteristics. It will:

Focus on the black community, its history, culture, and ethnic relativity;

Center on paid-to-learn, supervised field experiences—teaching, tutoring, and allied community-service activities;

Integrate theory and practice, drawing from each to illuminate and explicate the other;

Be organized for teaching purposes in terms of "experiences" rather than courses, lectures, credits, examinations;

Be taught by teams of instructors, each team working with a particular group of trainees over an extended period of time;

Be planned by committees of faculty and students and be based on the trainees' needs and interests;

Be evaluated by performance criteria and on a satisfactory or unsatisfactory basis;

Be experimental and open-ended in its search for answers to the question, What is education?

Learning by Teaching

The single most distinguishing feature of the institute will be its adherence to the values of learning by teaching. Learning by teaching will apply to faculty and students alike. Teaching will be conceived of in its broadest terms as including such activities as tutoring, home teaching, counseling, student and faculty recruitment, program evaluation, service in community agencies, and the like.

Each one teach one. Start where they are. Paid to learn. Tailor the instruction to each student's individual needs and interests. Learn to teach by teaching. A community of learners. These familiar phrases characterize the learning-by-teaching philosophy; they will be the watchwords of the institute.

The educational style of the institute will be both professional and collegiate. This means that faculty, students, and the community will regard themselves as professional colleagues jointly engaged in a search for better, more effective solutions to the problems and tasks confronting their profession, a search to which each can make a contribution. With faculty, students, and the community working together on their common professional concerns, the search itself will become the educa-

tional experience—in contrast to the I-teach-you-learn relationship that pervades traditional education. In this sense, the institute should be thought of as a center for learning and discovery as well as a teaching center. It will be difficult to establish this style, because it involves a departure from traditional patterns of instruction, which are both attitudinal and structural in character.

The direct-experience activities conducted under the aegis of the institute will be innovative and experimental. This feature will have important implications for the structure of the institute.

The barriers to innovation and experimentation in established colleges and universities are well known. To preserve a priority commitment to innovation, experimentation, and flexibility, the institute will control its own policies and input, although it will obviously need to establish working arrangements with other schools, colleges, and community agencies. But while an autonomous structure is a necessary condition for preserving a high priority for innovation, structure in itself is not sufficient to ensure that this priority will be realized. Equally important will be the organization of faculty and community representatives in learning-teaching teams that work with a group of trainees over a sufficiently long period so that everyone knows each other on a first-name basis. There will be maximum flexibility for the organization and operation of the teams; they will be evaluated on their educational style and their progress toward the goal of learning by teaching.

Each instructional team will have released time for planning and will also be provided with adequate human, material, and financial resources. Each team should be a truly cooperative endeavor concerned with the subject matter, the learner, and the needs and requirements of the world of work. To ensure against foreclosing student aspiration prematurely, the team should be actively associated with other educational processes such as counseling, selection, and placement.

The work of the instructional team will be developed around six activities: curriculum development, teaching, evaluation, learning, in-service education, and research. The purpose would be to develop curricula in the several academic areas relevant to the real needs of these students for both continued education and the world of work. Additionally, scholarly participation in such activities would assure relevancy to current knowledge of the particular discipline. Effective utilization of the teams will require that they meet together frequently during the school year—even during summer months—to evaluate existing conditions and to test new curricula.

A typical team might consist of institute instructors, school-community supervisors, students, and trainees from other curriculum models; they would be aided by consultants from the community, the world of work, other colleges or universities, and other disciplines. Parents and other members of the community would be consulted with and kept informed, and their ideas, suggestions, or criticisms would be given full and complete attention before any final decisions were to be made.

Operational procedures must be developed so that the instructional team will be able to engage in:

Tests of the newly developed curricula against existing curricula; research in the areas of learning, sociology, behavior, and so forth; the desires of students and community; ideas from other areas of the total curriculum; ideas from other scholars and teachers in the field; the competencies of the teaching staff and the students;

Demonstrations of the curricula in actual classroom teaching-learning;

Retests against both objective and subjective outcomes of the demonstrations;

Articulation of the new curricula with other subject-matter areas, other levels of schooling, other types of education or training, other situations;

Continual re-evaluation, revision, and reconstruction of the curricula as new data become available from research and from the use of the curricula.

There will be a number of curricular models and ladders; e.g., one-year models for training tutors and non-professionals, two-year models for associate teachers, four-year models for intern teachers, five-year models for master teachers. A trainee may "graduate" from a model and seek regular employment on the basis of his training or he may apply for admission to the next advanced model.

In each curricular model there will be academic and technical training, and each will encompass a wide range of different teaching-learning activities and seminars. For example, in the one-year model the technical component will include but not be limited to (1) skill in tutoring procedures; (2) understanding the programs of the school and various other community agencies—their goals, methods, timetable, underlying rationale and concepts; (3) appreciation of low-income culture and sociological views regarding this stratum and its subgroups; (4) information regarding service-giving procedures; (5) knowledge regarding the goals of a community approach to service; (6) interviewing and establishing contact procedures; (7) reporting methods and record keeping; and (8) conducting meetings and conferences.

Exemplary Schools

Schools involved in the institute's program are to be planned and staffed as exemplary schools—demonstration centers for modern, experimental, open-ended education. These centers concentrate on seeking answers to the question: What kind of education is most appropriate for the inner city? Various kinds of exemplary centers are possible.

Preschools using Montessori approaches to teacher training. Although educational alternatives will be generally available,

special attention should be directed toward encounter-type learning and the initial teaching alphabet as related to Montessori early childhood education.

Elementary schools geared to artistic creativity. These would provide exposure to all aspects of the visual environment and involve training in natural phenomena, geology, weather, seasons, and plant and animal forms and their growth. Special classes in creativity would be devoted to music, art, dance, and poetry, which exist in latent abundance in all children. Such an unfolding could lead naturally to an interest in the three R's. An artist-teacher resident program could be a part of an exemplary school, providing young art, music, dance, and creative writing teachers with the opportunity of helping in the development of an after-school creative arts program.

Intermediate schools that would develop a multi-media, affective approach to learning. This would build on the experience of the EPOCH project in the Berkeley Unified School District.

Nongraded high schools and adult schools providing work experience for all students. These would be so organized that academic instruction goes hand in hand with practice. Such an occupational, interest-centered school might have an individually tailored, imaginative curriculum that develops greater retention power than present nonvoluntary high schools.

An exemplary school might have a research-oriented educational laboratory for development and assessment of individualized, experimental learning programs. Among the questions researched might be: How do inner-city children and adults learn best? What are the most effective curricula and teaching strategies? What are some paths to integration and assimilation as well as transition to employment?

A major effort will be the rigorous evaluation of the overall project, and longitudinal studies also will be developed. Students from nearby colleges and universities, teachers, and others in the community will be given stipends to serve as

research fellows to assist in this evaluation and to initiate other studies of interest to the institute.

In addition, it is expected that all direct-experience activities carried on by the institute will be subject to continuous monitoring and evaluation. As an integral part of its practices, each direct-experience activity will incorporate evaluation and follow-up procedures, so that it will be possible to make reasonably definitive statements about the effectiveness of all direct-experience activities at the institute. In this way, the institute can make a continuous and useful contribution to knowledge, while trainees presumably will accept evaluation, follow-up, and performance criteria as integral components of professional practice—equally indispensable in study, involvement, and intervention.

Use of classrooms within the Hunter's Point-Bayview-Southeast San Fransicso area will be mandatory in order to provide for the various forms of supervised teaching activities, seminars, and laboratories for the teacher-candidates.* The seminar plan of drawing theory from a core of practical experiences—the heart of the teacher-training program—must by its very nature be conducted in settings with children. This means that classrooms will be needed five days a week, evenings, and Saturdays. Contracts for these facilities will need to be negotiated with the school district and other community agencies.

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*It is hoped that initially the institute will enroll 300 trainees. The ratio of full-time faculty to students will be one to fifteen. This full-time staff will be augmented by a corps of school and social agency personnel indigeneous to the community itself, who will provide immediate supervision for students' paid-to-learn activities on a ratio of one to three trainees. Three degrees will be offered: A.T. (Assistant Teacher) after two years; B.T.E. (Bachelor of Teacher Education) after four years; M.T.E. (Master of Teacher Education) after five years. Five credentials will be awarded: tutor certificate after one year; assistant teacher certificate after two years; associate teacher certificate after three years; intern teacher certificate after four years; master teacher certificate after five years and in-service training. A one-year graduate training program will be offered leading to the M.T.E. degree. Initially, there might be two such programs: an internship teacher preparation course and a program for teachers and administrators in service who wish to become teachers of teachers.

The headquarters of the institute will be donated by the community, preferably at Hunter's Point.

A variety of in-service educational programs, composed of seminars and laboratory experiences, will be created for teachers and administrators, especially those employed in the Southeast San Francisco area. The program will be designed to provide them with an accurate, in-depth, and comprehensive knowledge of minority group cultures and will examine the dynamics underlying the involvement of teachers, parents, and the community power structure. The major emphasis would be to aid teachers in relating more effectively not only to the youngsters under their charge but also to the inner-city population as a whole. Such an in-service program might focus on such issues as developing in teachers a greater sensitivity in terms of the multi-cultural reality of American life and history, including minority group viewpoints; aiding teachers in developing personal sets of strategies involving curricular and methodological innovations; and providing them with a resource pool of community leaders for future reference and use in the education of the culturally different.

To summarize, the key features of an EPI as seen in this blueprint are control by the black community; advocacy approach to educational issues; recruitment of inner-city parents and hard-core dropouts and training them "where they are"; exclusive focus on inner-city teacher preparation; full implementation of the learning-by-teaching philosophy; a paid-to-learn team-teaching curriculum integrating theory and practice; establishment of exemplary schools as the heart of the professional education training; development and use of performance criteria as the basis of student evaluation; and rigorous assessment and evaluation of a five-year experimental, open-ended educational experience.

4. Educational Facilities for the Urban Disadvantaged

Harold B. Gores

Among the handicaps facing urban school systems in their efforts to provide better schooling for the disadvantaged is the schoolhouse—the bricks and mortar that house the educational process.

The dimensions of the problem were outlined three years ago by Ben E. Graves, then director of a research project for the Great Cities Program for School Improvement, at a Stanford University conference on urban school planning. His figures, and the pattern of decay they represent, are still valid today. Nearly 600 elementary schools and more than 50 junior and senior high schools, built before the turn of the century, are still in operation in sixteen of the nation's largest cities, according to Graves. Another 700-plus elementary schools and more than 160 secondary schools in these same cities were built prior to 1920.[1]

This is not to suggest that age alone will render a building unsuitable for school use. But the reality is that most of the schools cited here were designed around the educational and societal attitudes of another era. An excerpt from a 1962 report on the schools of one of the large cities is illustrative:

> By and large, the school buildings of the period seem to us to be crowded, cramped, ill-heated, ill-ventilated.

These buildings had wooden stairs and corridors, gang toilets in the basement, and classrooms that were dark and drab except perhaps near a window. They had no playrooms inside and little play space outside. The atmosphere inside the classrooms was, in many cases, stale and odorous, hardly designed to assist children in staying awake, or if a window were opened in winter to allow fresh air to enter, drafty and cold.[2]

Paradoxically, such conditions were made worse by well-intentioned plans to correct them. During the late 1920's and early 1930's, many cities earmarked schools of pre-1900 vintage for replacement. But subsequently, maintenance and repairs were held to an absolute minimum. The Depression, war, and postwar shortages of funds forestalled replacement, and these overaged schools continued to operate in a state of accelerating deterioration. As Graves' figures indicate, too many of them are in operation today.

These aged schools tend to be located in aging neighborhoods that often have become ghettos or are threatened with transition to that status. Thus, the "deprived" ghetto pupil, who presumably is most in need of a modern educational program and modern facilities to house it, generally finds himself attending classes in the oldest, most outmoded, and most dilapidated school buildings in any city.

Age and deterioration are not the whole story, however. Many of the newest school buildings in the cities are designed around century-old concepts of education. In terms of the reforms already under way, these schools were obsolete the day they opened. Worse still, when we contemplate the unknowns of education's future, we realize that they were not designed for change.

In sum, the physical plant housing our urban school systems is woefully inadequate to meet the educational needs of the deprived. Beyond that, the city schoolhouse too often lacks the modern auxiliary facilities—libraries, auditoriums,

cafeterias, gymnasiums—found in its newer suburban counterparts. Almost never does it have the facilities needed to serve the community at large.

But how are the cities, burdened by shortages of capital funds, a shrinking tax base, high real estate costs, and escalating construction costs, to replace their outmoded, inadequate school plant with modern facilities designed to meet today's needs and to be adaptable to tomorrow's requirements?

New Concepts in Design and Construction

In the short term, there are a number of options open to the cities and their school systems that could help alleviate the facilities problem.

One that has been tried with varying success in a number of cities is the use of relocatable school facilities. Here, trailer-type, portable, or demountable units are used to create "instant" classroom space in school yards or on other available land near an existing school. Relocatables generally have been used as a temporary measure to relieve school overcrowding caused by the population shifts that are endemic to urban life. But this approach has not been without its problems. In most cases, relocatables provide less-than-satisfactory school space, particularly where modern educational programs are involved. Relocation of these supposedly relocatable structures often proves to be more difficult and costly than anticipated. And, in too many cases, this temporary solution tends not to be temporary. Relocatable space often remains in use far beyond its contemplated lifetime and, because it usually is poorly maintained, tends to deteriorate rapidly.

In recent years, however, there has been some improvement in the state of the art, and better types of relocatable space are becoming available. Where continuing population shifts and serious overcrowding occur, this solution apparently remains an alternative, but only as a last resort.[3]

Modernization of existing schools is another option available to educators who are trying to relieve overcrowding or update their educational programs.

A case in point is the multi-use learning center in the Memorial Elementary School, Middletown, New York. The center and three adjoining resource centers occupy what formerly was the school's auditorium. Prior to the conversion, the auditorium was used only forty-five minutes a week for film showings. Today, the learning center or "electronic classroom," with its 180 electronically equipped pupil stations, is in use 80 per cent of every school day. When partitions that close off the resource centers are opened, the facility can still be used for school assemblies. The cost of renovating and equipping the new facility was about $124,000—far less than that of erecting a new building for the purpose. As a dividend, the school system was able to house three classes in the new facility, postponing for several years the need to put up a new school to meet enrollment growth.

Where the cities have structurally sound but outmoded school buildings, imaginative remodeling of auditoriums[4] and other areas offers a wide variety of alternatives.[5] But renovation possibilities do not stop there. Every city has a supply of abandoned office buildings, warehouses, and even factories that are suitable for conversion into educational facilities at costs far below those involved in building new schools. In Harlem, for example, a school for dropouts is operating in a converted supermarket. Philadelphia recently published an imaginative plan for the conversion of a warehouse into a school.[6] And scores of urban colleges and universities have long used converted buildings to house their academic programs.[7]

As suggested earlier, however, these solutions are of a short-term nature and at best only alleviate immediate and pressing problems. To meet long-term physical needs, city school systems will have to take far more drastic steps—steps

that will involve radical departures from past planning and building practices.

Of crucial importance is the need to create physical facilities that will permit changes in educational programs to meet the needs of deprived pupils.

Ironically, while many suburbs are designing "permissive space" into their schools, the cities—where the need for educational reform is far more pressing—continue to plan their schools around a century-old pattern of rigid, classroom boxes. In these eggcrate schools, the walls cannot be moved, and education tends to be locked into the traditional pattern of thirty or more pupils in a classroom—all day and every day—in the elementary schools, or into a pattern of musical boxes in the secondary schools. But as the suburbs have found, it is possible to design schools in which the walls can be moved or even eliminated to accommodate change and that such schools need cost no more than traditional buildings.

One approach to the creation of responsive space is the "school without walls," which is increasingly popular at the elementary level. Rather than traditional classrooms, such schools contain large open spaces housing 100 to 150 pupils and a staff of teachers, teaching assistants, and aides. Within such open spaces (usually carpeted), pupils can be grouped and regrouped, easily and unobtrusively, according to the needs and abilities of the individual child. The new teaching patterns—team teaching and nongraded instruction—are facilitated and encouraged.[8] Most schools without walls are to be found in the suburbs. But an outstanding exception—a domed wing that houses kindergarten through second grade in one open space—is to be found at P.S. 219, Queens, a part of the New York City school system.

An even more significant development is the emergence of the systems approach to school construction. Systems involve modular, pre-engineered components with which better schools may be built faster and more economically.

A key requirement in the systems projects to date has been that the components be designed to accommodate change. Structural components provide long, clear spans free of interior support. Into the structure is plugged a heating-ventilating-cooling system, a ceiling-and-lighting system, and interior partitions, all of which can be easily and economically rearranged to accommodate changes in educational programs. Because the components can be mass produced, this adaptability, plus superior lighting and air conditioning, can be obtained at costs equal to or below those for conventional construction.

Like schools without walls, the systems approach got its start in a suburban environment, specifically in thirteen California communities that banded together in 1961 to take part in the pioneering School Construction Systems Development project (SCSD).[9] Components developed under the SCSD project were used to erect thirteen schools worth some $25 million and were adopted elsewhere in the United States to erect schools and even industrial buildings.

With the advent of second-generation projects in Toronto,[10] Montreal, and Pittsburgh, systems are no longer limited to suburban one- and two-story buildings. Recent bid openings in Toronto and Montreal indicate that the cities can build systems schools of up to five stories in height and still achieve substantial savings over conventional designs. Underlining the implications for other cities is the fact that, within days after its successful bid opening, Toronto received inquiries from Chicago, St. Louis, and Detroit, all interested in the possibility of adapting the Toronto system to their own needs.

The systems approach eventually may offer one answer to another problem of the urban disadvantaged—that of high unemployment rates. Systems components can be so designed that less-skilled labor can be employed in construction. If the building trades unions can be persuaded to let down existing barriers, ghetto residents could be heavily employed in rehabilitation projects where component systems are utilized.

Another trend is the use of air rights for school construction. A substantial portion of every city's real estate now is given over to streets, highways, rail lines and yards. Air rights involve turning the space above these transportation arteries to productive uses. In New York City, for example, a two-school complex has been built over a subway storage yard on Manhattan's upper East Side, a new high school will straddle a parkway in the Bronx, and the campus of Bronx Community College will be built on a fourteen-acre "pad" over a Penn Central railroad yard.

Air rights involve difficult and often costly engineering problems. But these costs are usually more than offset by savings in the costs of condemnation, relocation of tenants, and demolition on conventional urban sites. Moreover, the city avoids the long-term loss of revenue usually occasioned by the removal of school sites from the tax rolls.

There is promise of even greater economic advantage in the so-called joint-occupancy approach to school construction. As far back as 1959, New York City devoted part of a grant from the Educational Facilities Laboratories to a study of the feasibility of combining a commercial high school and an office building on Manhattan's East Side. The idea was that revenues from the sale or rental of the air rights over the school would in effect pay for construction of the school and the city would obtain the building at no cost to itself. The study confirmed the economic feasibility of the idea, but the legal roadblocks at that time proved insurmountable.

The concept was not allowed to die, however, and in 1965, Lloyd Garrison, then president of the Board of Education, initiated a search for ways to eliminate the legal barriers. The result was a law, passed by the 1966 state legislature, establishing the New York City Educational Construction Fund, a state agency empowered to float bonds, build schools for the city, and lease the air rights over them to the developers of commercial or residential buildings.

Lease revenues and annual payments in lieu of taxes on the commercial or residential portion of the structure revert to the fund and are employed to retire the bonds. In the case of commercial developments and middle- and upper-income housing, the revenues usually will be adequate to cover the full cost of retiring the bonds, and the city, in effect, will get the school portion of the project at no cost to itself or its taxpayers. In the case of public low- or moderate-income housing which is partially tax exempt, the revenues will reduce the ultimate cost to the city.

There are other advantages. The fund operates outside the city's debt limit, and for that reason, can erect schools without the delays occasioned by capital fund shortages. Because it is an independent agency, it can avoid much of the bureaucratic red tape normally involved in school construction programs and thus get its buildings up and in operation sooner. After the bonds are retired, the city begins to collect taxes on the nonschool portion of the projects.[11]

Despite its brief history, the fund already has one school under construction and another thirteen committed and approved. The projects will provide 11,590 student places valued at $50 million and 3,500 apartment units and 350,000 square feet of commercial office space worth a total of approximately $100 million. Another nine projects, involving 7,240 student spaces worth $28 million and 3,000 apartment units worth $80 million, are in negotiation, and preliminary investigations are in process for another six projects.

Admittedly, joint occupancy is not a universal solution since it is workable only in cities—in those neighborhoods where real estate values and potential income from commercial or residential structures are high enough to attract developers. Nevertheless, the fund and its joint occupancy projects mark an important step toward what many observers feel could be the ultimate solution to the problem of the schoolhouse in the city. The fund's operations are being closely watched by a

number of cities and there is reason to believe that this promising alternative to the construction and financing of urban schools will spread.

The Difficulties of Comprehensive Planning

Harold Howe II, former U.S. Commissioner of Education, has remarked that it's time educators realize that the cities are their business, and that we will never have first-rate city schools unless we have first-rate cities.[12] Howe's implication is clear: city school systems must stop operating in isolation and, by the same token, must stop planning their schoolhouses in isolation. The city schoolhouse no longer can be the place this author described some years ago as "a masonry fortress afloat on a sea of blacktop, bounded by a hurricane fence with two basketball hoops."

Cities must face a reality first recognized more than a decade ago in New Haven, when an enlightened city administration concluded that its city's ambitious urban renewal had to be linked to an equally ambitious program of human renewal. It was realized that to raze or rehabilitate blighted neighborhoods and replace them with new commercial or residential developments was a totally inadequate program. Families had to be relocated, jobs had to be found for the unemployed, and often the unemployed had to be retrained, even re-educated. Other human problems, such as health, mental health, and family relations, also had to be tackled before many of the city's residents could become productive citizens. New Haven's planners also concluded that the schools could and should play a central role and become a focal point of the revitalized neighborhoods emerging from the urban renewal effort.

New Haven adopted a plan under which its middle schools (created under a shift to a 4-4-4 grade organization) would double in brass as community schools and provide either

physical facilities or coordination for neighborhood branches of the city's social agencies. At the same time, the city took a step of great import for the financing of urban school construction. The school construction program was put up as the city's contribution to its urban renewal program. The city's investment of $9.3 million on eleven renewal-area schools was matched by the state for a total local contribution of $18.6 million. This qualified the city for a federal grant, on a two-to-one matching basis, of $37.2 million. The schools, in effect, became the fiscal catalyst in New Haven's effort to become the first slum-free city in America.[13]

Though the program has not been completed—the city has yet to build its system of community middle schools—New Haven's approach has generated a number of promising attempts on the part of school systems and city administrations elsewhere to take an interdisciplinary, interagency approach to their planning efforts. Most of these attempts still are highly tentative in nature, and it is already apparent that a number of them will not be carried out as first envisioned. But the thinking behind them is gaining acceptance, and approaches that falter at one time and in one place very likely will be tried later and with greater success in other places.

One of the most promising of the new plans is one which recognizes that, just as the school should be a community resource, the community and its facilities represent an educational resource.

Philadelphia has created an "instant" high school by utilizing the facilities of museums and other institutions as well as business concerns located on or near a mid-city stretch of the Benjamin Franklin Parkway. The school has no building of its own, no campus, and no classrooms as such. In addition to facilities, the cooperating institutions provide key personnel to assist the regular school staff in the instructional program. Instead of moving from classroom to classroom within a tradi-

tional school building, students move from institution to institution on foot or by public transportation.

The cooperating institutions include the Philadelphia Museum of Art, the Franklin Institute, the Rodin Museum, the Academy of Natural Sciences, and the Free Library of Philadelphia. Among the business firms involved are the Insurance Company of North America; the Bell Telephone Company of Pennsylvania; Smith, Kline & French Laboratories; the Westinghouse Broadcasting Company (Station KYW); and two newspapers, the *Bulletin* and the *Inquirer*. The new school opened in February 1969 with an enrollment of 150 pupils, drawn from both public and parochial schools. The enrollment was expected to increase by about 600 a year until it reaches a goal of 2,400.

Up to now, however, large solutions to large problems have encountered heavy sledding in the big cities. A case in point was the comprehensive school plan developed by Pittsburgh, which, had it been carried out, would have employed the school system as a lever in the revitalization of whole sections of the city.[14]

The plan originally centered around the construction of five "Great High Schools" of about 6,000 students each that would replace twenty-three schools now in operation. These schools were to be located on large park-like complexes that might include such other facilities as technical institutes, cultural centers, and perhaps even shops and theaters. The complexes were to be so located as to provide bridges between neighborhoods now isolated by Pittsburgh's rugged terrain or by railroads, highways, and other man-made barriers. The neighborhoods were to be linked to the Great High Schools campuses by pedestrian greenbelts, along which the rest of the school system—middle schools, elementary schools, and preprimary centers—would be located. Finally, the city's expressway and rapid transit systems were tentatively mapped to provide links between the Great High Schools complexes.

Pittsburgh has abandoned this plan because of political and financial problems. But the plan remains an intriguing and significant example of the new thinking in urban school planning, and it can be predicted that planning on this scale will be consummated somehow, some day.

Similar difficulties have been encountered in New York City, where a massive plan for Brooklyn has died aborning.

Mayor John V. Lindsay proposed the creation of a futuristic complex, called Linear City, that would slice through five miles of central Brooklyn, transforming the neighborhoods in its path.[15] This would involve the construction of a cross-Brooklyn expressway to link the Verrazano-Narrows Bridge with the Long Island expressway system and thus provide a bypass around downtown Manhattan for through traffic. For five miles of its length, the new expressway would be constructed on the air rights over an existing spur of the Long Island Railroad. The Mayor would use the air rights over that stretch of the expressway to build his Linear City.

The complex would include housing, stores, offices, cultural and recreational facilities, even an industrial park. Woven through it would be the elements of the educational system. Rather than schools as we know them, the educational facilities probably would have taken the form of service or resource "stations," each specializing in a different area of the curriculum. Students would use Linear City's own transit system to move from station to station according to the dictates of their personalized educational programs. Younger pupils would attend "school centers" built into housing complexes.

The Linear City educational concept was an outgrowth of community demands for a fully integrated education park in central Brooklyn to replace five neighborhood schools then slated for construction. The significance of the plan is that it presumably would come to grips not with one but with a whole host of urban problems: land shortages, traffic congestion, rapid transit, blighted neighborhoods, school segregation, and

housing shortages, among others. However, the complexity of the plan and a typical shortage of lead time threatened the educational portion of the plan. The Board of Education has been forced, because of slow progress in implementing the plan, to proceed with construction of a number of conventional schools in the area rather than wait until facilities could be provided in Linear City.

The CORDE Corporation, a nonprofit educational consulting firm, studied the education park proposal for Brooklyn. It concluded in this and in another study for Philadelphia that linear developments, in which educational facilities were scattered through the community, made more sense for both integration and education than did the development of massive, monolithic complexes called educational parks.[16] However, this conclusion may not hold in other communities. Syracuse, New York,[17] and Anniston, Alabama, plan large, single-site education parks. CORDE itself has proposed a park to be built largely on air rights over a Baltimore expressway.[18] And educational park plans are under way in other sections of New York City.[19]

The Role of Other Public and Private Institutions

So far, this discussion has dealt with only one of the agencies involved in the education of the disadvantaged: the public schools. These are the most visible, their problems are more apparent, and some of their attempts at physical solutions most dramatic. But there are other agencies, both public and private, striving to educate the disadvantaged, and signs of progress can be discerned in these areas.

Perhaps most dramatic has been the effort to educate the very young. With few exceptions, these efforts have been carried forward under the Head Start program (until recently an operation of the U.S. Office of Economic Opportunity) and by private agencies, rather than by the public schools. These

nursery or pre-school programs for four- and even three-year-olds are generally conducted in makeshift quarters of rented or borrowed buildings. There is now an increasing demand—even on the part of long-established private nursery schools—for ways to design better facilities for the education of the very young.[20]

One of the more intriguing responses is a plan developed for the New York City Educational Construction Fund that would create a combined pre-school and community center as part of a joint-occupancy, vest-pocket housing project in the Bronx. Another is the recently opened Early Learning Center in Stamford, Connecticut. Designed around the Montessori concept of education, the private school has an open plan aimed at freedom of movement, accessibility of materials and toys, and maximum involvement of the child in both work and play.[21]

Industry is also taking a hand in the education and training of youth who now lack the skills to be employable or to meet the manpower needs of modern industry.

In Cleveland, the General Electric Company donated to the Cleveland Public Schools a 200,000-square-foot building that was formerly used for office and warehouse purposes. G.E. and other Cleveland-area firms will cooperate with the school system in operating the building as a job-training center for unemployed youth.[22]

Currently, a G.E. operated program is in progress with 12 trainees studying five basic G.E. operations in addition to school-system-administered academic subjects. The Western Electric Company, and the Ohio Bell Telephone Company both have programs in the planning stages. Eventually, the center is expected to enroll 1,000 youths a year in a wide variety of programs. Cleveland school officials estimate that it would cost at least $5 million to duplicate the forty-year-old donated building on today's construction market. And the school system has had to spend only $200,000 to renovate the building for

educational purposes, although additional outlays, primarily by industry, will be required to install specialized equipment as new training programs are added.

Colleges and universities, particularly those in the cities, are also playing a more significant role in education programs for the disadvantaged. In a number of cases, their activities have involved new approaches to building use and design.[23]

The University of Chicago has contracted with the Chicago Board of Education to "adopt" four public schools in the Woodlawn area adjacent to its campus and to establish an experimental school district. Utilizing federal and foundation aid, and university resources, the district will spend $800 per child more than the normal annual expenditures by the Chicago schools in an effort to provide an education tailored to the needs of deprived pupils. Eventually, new school facilities will be built under the supervision of the university to house the new programs. The university also plans to build, on its own campus, a social service and child care center for the Woodlawn neighborhood. The child care center and social service functions will be housed in separate wings of the structure. Their proximity is expected to give city and community agencies better contact with community residents, particularly with the families of children enrolled in the day care program.

There is evidence that institutional involvement in the cities will not be limited to urban colleges and universities. Antioch College, located in Yellow Springs, Ohio, for a time operated an "adopted" public school in Washington, D. C. More recently, as a member of the twelve-college Union for Research and Experimentation in Higher Education, Antioch has cooperated in the operation of "beachhead campuses" in both rural and urban deprived areas. The portable or disposable campuses will be staffed by student and faculty task forces from member institutions. The teams will study and otherwise

attempt to resolve social, economic, educational, and cultural problems in the beachhead communities.

A more ambitious effort to put university facilities and resources at the disposal of the disadvantaged is under study by a major eastern university. The private institution, which has asked to remain anonymous until the project's feasibility can be assured, is exploring the possibility of establishing and operating a high school, using the university's own classroom, laboratory, and auxiliary facilities rather than erecting a separate school building. The school-within-a-university would cooperate with the public school system and enroll students from all areas of the city to insure a thorough ethnic, social, and economic mix.

Such efforts have set in motion a trend toward a physical meld of the campus and the city—a trend that should be of great significance to the cities that plan to build new colleges in or near the ghettos to provide fuller educational opportunity to slum dwellers. So far, planners seem not to have recognized this significance and in most cases still plan campuses as islands in the slums. There is reason to fear that this island approach will have a blockbuster effect on slum neighborhoods and engender, through displacement and dislocation, alienation and even outright hostility among the very people the new institutions are intended to serve.

A promising exception is a new, four-year college being planned for Brooklyn by the Education Affiliate of the Bedford-Stuyvesant Restoration Corporation. The college, as yet unnamed, will take a number of experimental approaches. It will operate on a twelve-month calendar and six-day week. It will assure part-time employment to every student under an internship program linked to the student's academic program. Students will help administer the college. Black students from existing colleges in the metropolitan area will be employed as tutors. Students will spend the summer prior to formal ad-

mission working on the skills required to succeed in college and will continue such studies as long as necessary.

This innovative educational concept has stimulated an equally imaginative plan, prepared by Joseph Amisano of the Atlanta architectural firm of Toombs, Amisano and Wells, for physical development of the new campus. Rather than the traditional fortress-like urban campus, the plan calls for a meld of college and community facilities so that, according to a recent report, "it should be difficult to distinguish between the college and the community."[24] The college's facilities would be dispersed through the neighborhood in renovated structures and in new construction that would be limited to empty lots and to sites now occupied by substandard or abandoned buildings. Thus, according to an Educational Facilities Laboratories report, it would be "an institution that adds a great deal to the community and subtracts nothing." New construction would be kept to the low-rise scale of the existing neighborhood, and every effort would be made to preserve the distinctive architectural character of the area.

The plan calls for a mix of functions in both new and renovated facilities so that the college, local businesses, and even residential space might share the same building. Rentals from the commercial and residential portions could revert to the college. The college library and its cultural, recreational, and other facilities are intended to serve the community as well as the students. All facilities are to be designed for easy convertibility to different functions to meet the changing needs of both the college and the community. The plan even envisions the possible surrender of college facilities to other uses to meet pressing community needs. In addition to the development of the college, the plan calls for rehabilitation of the surrounding community, conversion of streets into linear parks, and provision of new housing to help overcome local shortages.

Significantly, both the academic and physical plans for the Bedford-Stuyvesant college were published as an approach and

a framework, not as a fait accompli. The final plan is to be developed with full participation of the community—even to the extent that the site announced (a specific area of forty-five blocks inhabited by about 45,000 people) is regarded as hypothetical pending community participation in the final site selection process.

While they cannot duplicate the Bedford-Stuyvesant approach, a few existing institutions are taking steps that will meld the campus with the community. A case in point is the Detroit Institute of Technology, which is planning the adoption of 100 square blocks in the core of the city. The Institute's plan, prepared by The Academy of Educational Development, has been called "educational renewal," and it involves a total institutional commitment to its neighborhood. It proposes that the Institute become the prime mover in the creation of a viable community—a new town or new village—in the heart of the city. Within the new town, the institution and the community would merge, to the point that one would be indistinguishable from the other.

The Detroit Institute of Technology would immerse itself in the city, eschewing any attempt to create a protected, institutional enclave or urban ivory tower. It will create an instrument—a new Center for Metropolitan Environmental Studies—through which the talent and expertise of its faculty and staff can be brought to bear on the planning of the institution and the community and on the resolution of a wide range of urban problems. And, in part through a plan to enroll at least one student from each of its 100 adopted blocks, it proposes to bring the community into institutional life. The plan is based on the concept that the urban campus (and here the term campus may be a misnomer) should be organic in concept and in shape rather than a self isolating fortress of tradition.

Schools, colleges, and other institutions necessarily will take different approaches to housing their burgeoning new educational programs for the disadvantaged. In doing so, they

Principles of Educational Renewal

The Characteristics of Schools in the Past:	New Directions for Schools of the Future:
1. Central control	Decentralized sub-system
2. Monolithic organization	A constellation of autonomous satellites
3. The separate schoolhouse serving only children	The community school serving everyone
4. 1000 hours of service a year	4000 hours a year
5. 190 days a year	300 days a year
6. Education only in schoolhouses	Education wherever the people are
7. Wait for new school buildings	Convert existing commercial buildings
8. Wait six years from commitment to occupancy	Fast-track planning in two years
9. Handcrafted construction	Industrialized building systems
10. Designed to defend against children and neighbors	Designed around trust of children and neighbors
11. Hard and reverberative	Soft and quiet
12. Designed for winter	Designed for summer and winter
13. Single sources of capital funds	Many sources of capital funds
14. Planned by educators and architects	Planned by all agencies of community planning including the local citizens
15. Schools built one at a time	Schools built simultaneously to increase volume
16. Schools as separate institutions	Schools planned in the context of a fragment of the city
17. Windowless schools turning their back on the neighborhood	Schools designed to reach out and welcome
18. Materials promising low-maintenance custody and maximum security	Materials of warmth, texture, amenity, and beauty, nourishing the human spirit
19. Schools standing alone	Schools sharing buildings with other compatible enterprises, public and private
20. Low quality, inflexible space and little value upon abandonment	High quality, flexible space and high resale value

must take into account the fact that education is only one of the needs of the urban disadvantaged. In physical planning, at least, it seems apparent that a total effort, recognizing the spectrum of urban needs and problems, and involving all applicable disciplines and agencies—including the community itself—will prove to be the only effective approach. Otherwise, the creation of single-purposed educational facilities may result in new institutions as alien to their neighborhoods as those of the past.

In sum, the foregoing instances of lively experimentation suggest some of the options—if cities will but consider and adopt them. Indeed, of all the urban building and reconstruction that must come, rebuilding schools and colleges could well be the first business of urban renewal inasmuch as good models and prototypes already exist.

There are many general principles and directions which will shape the programs of educational renewal; twenty such principles are listed on the opposite page.

The models exist. The great unknown is whether, having promised so much education to so many so soon, communities can now deliver. Promises have been made to whole new populations—to the four-year-olds, to the poor, to the open-enrollment community colleges. The question now is whether democracy follows through on its own rhetoric.

5. The Educational Park Concept

Thomas F. Pettigrew

The need of radically new designs for urban public education has never been more urgent than it is today. For a variety of reasons, the present structure of the public schools is inadequate to meet the demands placed upon it. It must be emphasized that these inadequacies are pervasive and that only in part do they have racial implications. However, as a social scientist who specializes in race relations, the author will dwell on this latter aspect in suggesting a new structural design for urban education in the future.[1]

Those who say that educational desegregation is impossible and should be abandoned as a goal of American public schools are wrong. Nevertheless, there is the risk that they will prove to be right through a classic example of the self-fulfilling prophecy. If we decide school desegregation in our cities cannot be achieved, we will surely act in such a manner as to make desegregation a most unlikely occurrence.

This chapter explores *one* needed direction for desegregation of schools in our largest metropolitan areas. The metropolitan educational park offers an effective response to the conditions that bring about de facto school segregation, and many other appealing advantages can be claimed for it.

But it must be immediately added that the park concept is no panacea. It raises a number of difficulties that reveal clearly the need for careful comprehensive planning of these enormously expensive centers. Three proposals that can help bring about such planning are discussed in this chapter. They are the establishment of a Commission for Metropolitan Education; the construction of a demographic simulation of the future dimensions of educational desegregation; and the development of a systems approach to various facility mixes that would provide a range of alternations to school systems with different dimensions and problems.

The Situation Today

Five points from social science research must be taken into account in any attempt to design a new structure for urban education.

First, schools with significant numbers of middle-class children have definite and important benefits for less-advantaged children, regardless of race.

Extensive evidence on school achievement has been presented in the U.S. Office of Education study of *Equality of Educational Opportunity*, better known as the Coleman report.[2] The most significant school correlate of achievement test scores revealed by this massive study (roughly two-thirds of a million children were involved) is the social-class climate of the school's student body. This variable is measured by the social-class origins of all students in a given school; it appears to be most critical in the later grades and is somewhat more important for black than for white children. Put bluntly, children of all backgrounds tend to do better in schools that are predominantly middle class, and this trend is especially true in the later grades where the full influence of the peer group is felt. This basic finding of the Coleman report has been challenged vigorously by a number of methodological critics, none of whom seem

aware that the identical finding had been attained by four other studies that employed sharply different measures and samples from those used by Coleman.[3] (Three of these replications were in print several years before the appearance in 1966 of *Equality of Educational Opportunity.*)*

Second, interracial schools characterized by racial acceptance have significant benefits, especially in the early grades, for both white and black children.

The racial significance of this social-class climate finding of the Coleman report becomes obvious as soon as we recall that only about one-fourth of the black American population at most can be accurately described as middle class. Apart from strictly racial factors, then, extensive desegregation is necessary to provide black pupils with predominantly middle-class school settings. On these class grounds alone, black children in interracial classrooms would be expected to achieve more than their counterparts in all-black classrooms, and these expectations are supported in the Coleman data. Black children from classrooms where more than half the children are white score higher on both reading and mathematical achievement tests than other black children; this effect is strongest among those who began their interracial schooling in the early grades.[4] In addition, black students in more-than-half-white classrooms as a group yield higher standard deviations in test scores than blacks in classrooms with fewer whites; i.e., desegregated blacks reveal a wider spread in test performance.[5]

But are these benefits of the interracial classroom *completely* a function of social-class climate? Or are racial composition factors independently related *in addition?* The text of the Coleman report is equivocal on this point; it speaks of the desegration effect being "largely, perhaps wholly, related to" or "largely accounted for by" other student-body character-

*For further discussion of the Coleman report, see chapter by James S. Coleman, "Increasing Educational Opportunity for the Disadvantaged: Research Problems and Results," in *The Conditions for Educational Opportunity*, the third volume in the CED Series on Urban Education.

istics.[6] The re-analysis by the Commission on Civil Rights of these data, however, focuses further attention upon this particular question and finds that there *is* indeed a critical racial composition correlate. The re-analysis uncovers relatively large and consistent differences in favor of those twelfth-grade blacks who are in more-than-half-white classrooms even after the two major factors of the Coleman analysis have been controlled—family social class and school social class.[7]

The apparent benefits of interracial classrooms are not linear; in other words, blacks in predominantly white classrooms score higher on the average, but those in classrooms less than half white do no better than those in all-black classrooms. Once again, this effect of improved performance appears greatest for those black children who begin their training in the early grades under interracial conditions. Moreover, this is not a zero-sum game; that is, white performance in predominantly white classrooms does not decline as black performance rises. The achievement scores of white children in interracial classes more than half white average just as high as those of comparable children in all-white classes.[8]

The commission report also makes a crucial distinction between a merely desegregated school and an integrated one. Desegregation involves only a specification of the racial mix of students—preferably more than half white. It does not include any description of the *quality* of the interracial contact. Merely desegregated schools can be either effective or ineffective, can boast genuine interracial acceptance or intense interracial hostility. In short, a desegregated school is not necessarily a "good" school. We can recall the greater spread of test scores of black children in desegregated classrooms. Many of these children are doing extremely well, but others are not doing nearly as well. What accounts for the difference?

The commission's re-analysis of the Coleman data suggests that the explanatory intervening variable is *interracial acceptance*. In the schools that can truly be described as integrated—

where most teachers report no racial tension whatsoever—black students develop higher verbal achievement, more definite college plans, and more positive racial attitudes than comparable black students in tense, merely desegregated schools.[9] Desegregation, then, is a necessary but not sufficient condition for integration; for in addition to racial mix, integration involves a climate of interracial acceptance.

While important, high scores on achievement tests are surely not the sole goal of education. Indeed, many advocates argue for integrated education only in terms of the nonacademic benefits of diverse contacts. Preparation for the interracial world of the future, they insist, demands interracial schools today for both white and black youth. The Coleman data speak to this issue, too. The Coleman report itself shows that white students who attend public schools with blacks are the least likely to prefer all-white classrooms and all-white close friends; and this effect, too, is strongest among those who began their interracial schooling in the early grades.[10] Consistent with these results are data from Louisville on black pupils. In an open-choice situation, black children are far more likely to select predominantly white high schools if they are currently attending predominantly white junior high schools.[11]

A survey of urban adults in the North and West, made by the Commission on Civil Rights, suggests that these trends continue into adulthood. Black adults who themselves attended desegregated schools as children tend to be more eager to have their children attend such schools and do in fact send their children to such schools more often than comparable black adults who attended only segregated schools as children.[12] Typically they are making more money and are more frequently in white-collar occupations than previously segregated blacks of comparable origins. Similarly, white adults who as children experienced integrated schooling differ from comparable whites in their greater willingness to reside in an interracial neighborhood, have their children attend interracial schools, and have black friends.[13] Thus, for both black and white adults, it appears

that desegregated schooling does in fact prepare its students for interracial living as adults.

Third, public schools in the United States are rapidly becoming less, not more, heterogeneous both in terms of race and social class.

The National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders flatly states, "Our nation is moving toward two societies, one black, one white—separate and unequal."

Nothing about public education in America refutes this stark conclusion. "Racial isolation in the schools," concludes the Commission on Civil Rights, "is intense whether the cities are large or small, whether the proportion of Negro enrollment is large or small, whether they are located North or South."[14] Thus, in the fall of 1965, two-thirds of all black pupils in the first grade of public schools and one-half in the twelfth grade of public schools were enrolled in schools with student bodies that were 90 to 100 per cent black. Moreover, seven out of every eight black pupils in the first grade of public schools and two-thirds in the twelfth grade of public schools were enrolled in predominantly black schools.

Though different in magnitude, the regional discrepancies do not change the picture significantly. While 97 per cent of black first graders in the public schools of the urban South in 1965 attended predominantly black schools, the figure for the urban North was 72 per cent. White children were even more segregated. In the fall of 1965, 80 per cent of white public school children in both the first and twelfth grades were located in schools that are 90 to 100 per cent white.[15]

Moreover, the separation is increasing.* In Cincinnati, for example, seven out of every ten black children in the elementary schools in 1950 attended predominantly black schools, but by 1965 nine out of ten did so. And while black elementary enroll-

*No reliable national data on public school segregation are available since 1965, but local studies throughout the nation agree that the degree of urban school segregation by both race and class has steadily increased everywhere except in parts of the South.

ment had doubled over these fifteen years, the number in predominantly black schools had tripled.[16] This pattern of growing separation is typical of American central cities where black Americans are concentrated in the greatest numbers.

Fourth, in small cities and towns the remedies for this growing separation are well known—redrawing of school lines within a district, the pairing of schools, careful placement of new schools, alteration of feeder systems, and conversion of more schools into district-wide specialized institutions.

Can we really desegregate our public schools? Is it possible to achieve effective racially and socio-culturally balanced student bodies? Are there any ultimate solutions for our big city school systems? Is not integration really a nice but impossible notion? What about Washington, Harlem, South Side Chicago?

Initially, we must make a clear distinction between small-ghetto and big-ghetto situations, for what is possible and useful in the former may well be counter-productive in the latter. The small-ghetto situation generally involves a city with less than a seventh or so of its public school population black. Its high schools and often even its junior high schools are naturally desegregated, and with good faith it can correct its elementary school segregation *within* its borders. There are many such communities throughout the United States, and together they account for a surprisingly large minority of black children. They should not be confused with the Washingtons and Harlems, as such apostles of segregationist doom as Joseph Alsop are given to do.

The elementary schools in these small-ghetto cities can usually be desegregated with a plan tailored to the system, utilizing a unique combination of the inter-district methods mentioned above. Controversy is typically minimal because the small-ghetto situation can usually be accommodated without widespread subsidized transportation of students.

The real problems of implementation occur in the big-ghetto situation. Techniques that are effective in small ghettos

are generally mere Band-Aid remedies for the city system with a substantial and growing percentage of black students. Thus, pairing schools along the ghetto's borders would have to be repeated every few years as the ghetto expanded. Or a new school built outside of the ghetto last year may result only in a nearly all-black school within the ghetto next year.

Even in Boston, where only 26 per cent of the students in its public school system are nonwhite, a sophisticated redistricting plan for elementary schools would have only minor effects. In a computer-assisted system analysis, the ultimate limit of redistricting was tested with the rules that children in grades one through three would not be assigned more than a half mile from their homes and children in grades four through six not more than three-quarters of a mile. Yet the proportion of Boston's nonwhite elementary students attending predominantly nonwhite schools would only be reduced from 78 to 66 per cent and for nonwhite junior high students from 65 to 50 per cent.[17] Clearly, for Boston—not to mention cities with really enormous ghetto areas such as New York, Philadelphia, Washington, Chicago, and Los Angeles—more sweeping measures are required.

Fifth, the problem is most intense in the large central city and is brought about basically by (a) the anti-metropolitan manner in which our school districts are drawn and operated; (b) the growing racial and class divisions between central cities and their suburbs; (c) the depletion of the central city's pool of middle-class white children by large parochial and private school systems; and, finally, (d) the cynical and willful planning by major school systems to achieve maximum racial and class segregation. Here the techniques for heterogeneous schools in smaller localities are mere palliatives at best and counter-productive at worst.

The first two of these factors become apparent as soon as we compare public school organization and current racial demographic trends. There are approximately 27,000 school

districts in the United States, with almost all of the recent consolidation of districts limited to the rural areas. The Boston metropolitan area contains more than 75 school districts, the Detroit area more than 96.[18] There is pitifully little cooperation between central-city and suburban school systems, and there are vast fiscal and social disparities between districts—especially between those in the central city and those in the suburbs. More than 80 per cent of all black Americans who live in metropolitan areas reside in central cities, whereas more than half of all white Americans who live in metropolitan areas reside in suburbs; this imbalance intensifies racial separation by district. Racial housing trends are not encouraging and offer no hope for major relief of educational separation in the next generation.[19] Consequently, America would face an enormous problem of de facto segregation even if there were no patterns of intra-district separation by race.

But, of course, the nation also faces the task of overcoming sharp racial segregation *within* school districts. For example, in the following cities, 90 per cent or more of the black children in the central-city elementary schools are enrolled in schools that are 90 to 100 per cent black: Richmond, Atlanta, Little Rock, Memphis, Gary, Omaha, Washington, Tulsa, Oklahoma City, Baltimore, and Chicago. In cities with large Roman Catholic populations, this intra-district segregation is unwittingly increased by the absorption of many white children into the parochial system. Since only about 6 per cent of black Americans are Roman Catholic,[20] a large church school system necessarily limits the available pool of school-age white children for a central-city public school system. In St. Louis and Boston, about two out of every five white children go to private schools; and in Philadelphia, roughly three out of every five white children go to private schools.

In addition, the Louise Day Hickses and the George C. Wallaces in American political life make the problem of segregation worse by openly advocating deliberate distortion in

zoning districts and by stubbornly rejecting those measures which would at least begin to ease the problem. In a 1967 report the Commission on Civil Rights provides two pointed examples, in Chicago and Cincinnati, of de facto segregation by design.[21] And blatant, widespread resistance to racial change still persists, of course, in much of the rural South—where almost a fifth of all black Americans reside.

However, while demagogues may get the headlines, the fact is that structural barriers are often the critical factors in school segregation. These barriers include demographic trends; school districting that is based on neighborhood school assumptions, which run counter to the metropolitan concept; and the effects of private schools.

The Park Concept

With these data and observations in mind, we can consider new ways of structuring our public schools in metropolitan areas.

The four basic causes cited in the previous section for the intensification of school segregation by race and class in the big cities provide a form and a direction for future efforts. They clearly indicate the need for large educational complexes drawing from wide attendance areas. These areas will generally have to include both central-city and suburban territory in order to ensure an optimum racial mix that also has stability. The sites for these facilities must not only be convenient to the mass transit network but must also be on racially neutral turf. Such locations would avoid immediate public labeling of the school as "white" or "black."

Racial specifications are by no means the only criteria for future remedies. Public schools in our largest cities have lost their former preeminence as the innovative educational leaders. A host of other smaller communities—such as Berkeley, Newton, and Brookline—are now the pacesetters. Planning for

metropolitan public schools must therefore accent innovation. Indeed, the public schools of the future, if they are to compete effectively for the children of advantaged parents, must offer facilities that could rarely be duplicated by expensive private schools. Such arrangements, of course, will be expensive—hence the need for significant federal support of capital costs.

Several designs would meet these criteria. But let us consider one design as illustrative. Ringing our major cities with educational parks, each of which serves both inner-city and suburban students, offers one basic plan—the metropolitan park plan. Each park would be located in the inner ring of suburbs or just inside the central-city boundary.* It would be so placed that the same spoke of the mass transit system could bring children from the outer ring of suburbs into the park and inner-city children out to it. The attendance area of each park ideally would cut out a slice of the metropolitan pie, with the thin end of the slice in the densely populated central city and the wide end in the sparser suburbs; each area would contain a minimum of 12,000 to 15,000 public school students.

But what incentive could generate the metropolitan cooperation necessary for such a plan? A number of school systems have considered educational parks, but usually the capital costs have been found prohibitive. Moreover, many systems are currently hard pressed for expansion funds—especially as referendums for school construction bonds continue to be defeated throughout the nation. Federal funding on a massive scale will obviously be needed, though it must be distributed on a far sounder and more productive basis than that incorporated in the Elementary and Secondary Education

*Other convenient and racially neutral sites would be appropriate to specialized metropolitan educational parks. For example, sites near an art museum, a science center, a music center, or a university could possess enough appeal and status to attract suburban children into the central city, despite the longer commuting required.

Act of 1965, which essentially was patterned after a rivers-and-harbors bill (everybody gets his cut). As long as alternative federal funding for capital costs is available, many school systems—particularly those who do not act in good faith—will opt against joining a metropolitan park plan.

If the park concept is to be encouraged, future federal construction grants must:

Involve more than one urban district. The consortium must always include the central city, though it is not requisite that the entire metropolitan area join any particular park proposal. Some coordination would be necessary, of course, perhaps through review by each area's metropolitan planning commission.

Require racial and social desegregation and—it is to be hoped—integration in every school involved. Metropolitan involvement makes this requirement feasible.

Exclude alternate channels for federal building funds. However, if the first two criteria are met, the proposal need not adopt the metropolitan park plan as the model.

We are talking here about educational parks of some 15,000 students and costing perhaps $40-50 million, defrayed 90 per cent by the federal government. Is such federal funding possible in the near future? As with many other domestic questions, in the author's opinion, the answer rests with the termination of the Vietnam War. Even assuming that nothing like the Vietnam War costs would become available for the domestic scene, a school construction program of $1-2 billion (enough for building roughly twenty to forty parks annually) is not unlikely.

Here lies a great opportunity and an equally great danger. If the money is distributed to individual school districts in the easy fashion of the 1965 education act, the anti-metropolitan effects could be disastrous for both race relations and public education. Federal building money spent in such a manner would further insulate aloof suburbia and institu-

tionalize de facto school segregation in the inner city for at least another half century. School construction money is likely to be made available by the federal government after Vietnam. The vital question is: What will be its form and effect?

As pointed out early in this chapter, the educational park idea is not a panacea; there can be elegantly effective and incredibly ineffective parks. Yet ample federal funding, combined with the nation's planning and architectural genius, should be able to set a new standard and direction for public schools. This combination has been applied successfully to public facilities ranging from interstate highways to magnificent airports. Now the combination should be applied for the benefit of children.

Educational parks could be planned in a variety of ways. They might involve, for instance, a reasonably large tract of land (upwards of 80 to 100 acres) and no fewer than fourteen or fifteen schools serving grades from kindergarten through high school. One educator has visualized a campus designed for 18,000 students consisting of two senior high schools, four junior high schools, and eight elementary schools.[22] However, if the park were to serve a very densely populated section, it might be best if it did not include the entire spectrum of grades so that it could draw on a broader and therefore more heterogeneous area.

Basically, an educational park ought to resemble a public university, offering a variety of educational programs for a large group of students of varying abilities. As with public universities in major cities, some parks might consist of high-rise structures, while others might develop a more spacious campus with numerous buildings. In general, it would undoubtedly be preferable for the metropolitan park to follow the campus model, inasmuch as sufficient space would generally be obtainable at locations on the inner ring of suburbs. Since good sites are already scarce and are rapidly disappearing in

some of the thickly populated metropolitan areas, especially the older cities of the East, there is a need for accumulating "land banks" of future park sites (treated later in this chapter).

Advantages of the Park Concept

Apart from offering racial remedies, the metropolitan park concept has a number of distinct advantages. First, there are considerable savings that accrue from consolidation; kitchen facilities, for instance, need not be duplicated in each of the park's units. Savings on capital costs also would accrue from simultaneous construction of many units at one location. This does not necessarily mean that the construction and operating costs per student would be *less* than those for traditional units dispersed throughout a school district, rather that the metropolitan park could offer significantly *better* facilities than traditional schools for essentially the same cost. Consequently, each child would be receiving far more per educational dollar in the metropolitan park.

It is difficult to institute new approaches to learning in old settings; a basic finding of social research is that new norms are easier to introduce in new institutions. The metropolitan park offers the fresh and exciting setting that should encourage new educational techniques and attract the more innovative members of the teaching profession. In addition, the park presents a rare opportunity for designing innovation into the physical and social structures of the schools, including the latest equipment, for aiding the teacher and the student. Centralization, for example, makes possible efficient concentration of facilities for storage, retrieval, and use of electronic data.

This should not be viewed as leading inevitably to a wide assortment of frightening Orwellian devices cluttering the school. Poor planning could indeed lead to this result. The accent, however, should be on individualized instruction—a

unifying and positive theme far more possible of attainment in the park design than in neighborhood schools.

Other innovations are made possible by the metropolitan park. For instance, the teaching profession today suffers because it is one of the most undifferentiated of all professions in terms of rank and function, a characteristic that often discourages a lifelong devotion to the field. While the medical profession has a gradation of roles, from intern and resident to chief of a service, teachers must either enter at the administrative level in order to become principals or shift to more prestigious schools in order to move up the professional or administrative ladder. Where there are larger faculties and varied instructional situations, differentiation of roles becomes possible in the schools. Thus, team teaching provides an opportunity to progress from apprentice to master teacher to supervisor of master teachers. The concentration of faculty also allows more intensive in-service training in various disciplines. Likewise, it makes possible the formation of departments such as those found in universities; e.g., a junior high history department comprising the history teachers in all four or five junior high schools on the campus. This, in turn, opens up the possibility of developing rankings with the department similar to those found in universities.

Likewise, concentration of students allows wider course offerings. Specialized classes, from lute-playing to seventeenth-century English literature, become economically feasible when the students electing them are gathered from units throughout the park. Moreover, concentration makes it possible to provide large-scale or special facilities that can be shared by all of the park's units; e.g., Olympic-sized swimming pools, extensive auditoriums, elaborate theatrical equipment. Such facilities, far surpassing those now available in all but the most affluent school districts, could become a source of student and community pride and provide a competitive advantage over private schools. They would also have wide and efficient use rather than

the minimal use of expensive facilities in single-site schools.

The metropolitan park offers unusual opportunities for an effective liaison with a local university or college. Nova, the extensive educational park near Fort Lauderdale, even plans to include college and graduate work right on its campus. But direct contiguity is not necessary to develop a mutually beneficial coordination.

An important cause of public school segregation in many central cities is the enrollment of large percentages of white children in parochial schools. This fact suggests the desirability of closer cooperation between public and parochial schools; the metropolitan educational park could facilitate such cooperation. Because most parochial systems are currently in serious financial condition, they should find attractive the possibility of making use of the park's superior facilities. Roman Catholic educators point out that the most costly facilities—the physical science laboratories, gymnasium, and stadium—tend to be least related to the "moral training" that they believe to be the distinctive feature of their schools.

The present pattern of scattered-site schools, both public and parochial, makes shared-time and other cooperative arrangements awkward at best. Furthermore, the practice of bringing parochial school students to public school as a group tends to emphasize segregation and often creates social tension and hostility.

A recent idea from Vermont offers a promise of providing a more economically and socially productive means of cooperation. At the time of planning a large educational park, Roman Catholic educators are given the opportunity of buying an adjoining plot of land and constructing a new facility of their own. As long as the land price is consistent with its true value, no constitutional infringements appear to be involved. The new parochial school need concentrate only on providing the facilities for courses directly required for moral training. Parochial pupils as individuals—not as separated groups—

would be free to cross the park and attend public school classes in physical education, science, or other courses when these fit their particular schedules. The Vermont plan offers construction and operating savings to hard-pressed parochial systems at the same time that it offers a better racial and class balance to hard-pressed public systems.*

The various advantages of the well-designed metropolitan park—cost efficiency, educational innovations, more individualized instruction, wider course offerings, special facilities, and coordination with universities and parochial schools—are features that parents, white or black, would welcome in the schools of tomorrow. In the political sense, this is critical, for desegregation efforts of the past have seldom been embodied in larger packages promising an across-the-board improvement in education for *all* children.

Objections to the Park Concept

In addition to the natural resistance to change, four major objections have been raised to the park concept: (1) excessive capital costs; (2) the phasing out of existing schools; (3) the problem of impersonalization in the large complexes; and (4) the loss of neighborhood interest and involvement in the school. Each is a serious objection and deserves comment.

The park *is* expensive and major federal funding is necessary, as we have noted. Furthermore, mistakes in design and location could be disastrous. A park is an enormous commitment of resources. If poorly conceived, it could stand for years as a major mistake in planning. This is precisely what would

*The old stereotype of parochial school students as children of working-class immigrants is just that—an outdated stereotype. Roman Catholic children attending church-operated educational systems tend as a group to be distinctly higher in socioeconomic background than Roman Catholic children who attend the public system. Thus, inclusion of parochial pupils in public school courses and programs is likely to make for a better class as well as racial balance.

happen if parks were operated totally within central-city systems; demographic projections prove the folly of building parks for a single central-city system as a desegregation device.* It is for this reason that the parks of the future must be *metropolitan* in character.

Present schools represent a considerable investment, too, and this raises the problem of phasing out existing facilities. For many urban districts this is not a problem; their schools are already overutilized through the use of double shifts to cope with rising enrollments, or the buildings are old and long past their usefulness. But some urban districts with many new schools would be hesitant to join a park consortium. The program, however, is a long-term one. It is to be hoped that by the middle 1970's most of the nation's leading metropolitan areas would boast one or more parks; these in turn could serve as models for completing the park rings early in the next decade. Moreover, elementary and secondary student enrollments will rise rapidly—from 48.4 million in 1964 to a projected 54.9 million in 1974 and 66 million in 1984.[23] Metropolitan parks thus could be phased in as older facilities are phased out and enrollments rise swiftly.

There will, of course, be special problems in localities that have undertaken what might be called planned de facto school segregation. There are the cities such as Chicago that in recent years purposely have built new schools in the hearts of their black ghettos in order to perpetuate racial separation. If racial progress is to be made in these cities, some recent structures will have to be converted to new uses—perhaps to much-needed community centers.

Organizational bigness often induces a fear of impersonalization. The bare description of the park—15,000 students, a staff approaching 1,000, the latest electronic equipment—has

*The Philadelphia Urban League has fallen into this trap in proposing this type of park for a central-city school system in which the majority of the student body is already nonwhite.

indeed a Kafka-esque quality. And one can only concede that a poorly designed park might very well justify these fears. But this result is not inherent in the park plan. Nor is bigness a park problem alone; many of today's huge urban high schools accommodate thousands of students in a single unit and arouse the same uneasiness. In fact, imaginatively designed parks could counter the urban trend toward ever larger public school units. *Smaller* schools at each level can be built economically as units within the park; careful planning could achieve a reasonable degree of privacy for each unit while still providing access to the shared facilities of the park.

Some critics are particularly concerned about the possibility that the park will bring about a loss of neighborhood interest and involvement. The criticism assumes that most urban public schools today are neighborhood-based and that they generate considerable neighborhood involvement. Serious doubts can be raised about both assumptions; we may well be worrying about the loss of something already lost. In any event, there is no evidence to indicate that only a neighborhood-based school is capable of enlisting parental involvement or that a metropolitan park could not also accomplish this—or likewise that there is a fixed, inverse ratio of size of attendance area to community involvement.

The criticism, however, does raise an important planning issue: How can the park be initiated and planned to heighten parental and community interest? Certainly, the special facilities, the university liaison, and cooperation with parochial schools could help generate community pride and interest. So could a park school board of parents with broad authority, short of taxing power. Furthermore, intensive use of the park for adult education, community affairs, and the like would also contribute to public involvement; indeed, the park and its special facilities lend themselves to such uses more readily than does the typical school of today.

Finally, one might ask how such a metropolitan park plan

fits with other widely-discussed concepts as decentralization and community schools. First, it should be noted that decentralization and community control are typically advanced either apart from integration considerations or as outright alternatives to integration. For example, the Bundy report on the New York City school system, had it been implemented, might well have led to racially homogeneous districts that would have led to the institutionalizing of racial segregation for generations to come.[24] Yet there is an obvious need in large and unwieldy systems to decentralize authority, as well as a general need to increase parental and community involvement in public education.

As in the case of compensatory education, however, these possibilities acquire force and meaning when they *accompany* the drive for integration rather than substitute for it. Effective decentralization need not take the form of isolated class or racial islands, but should assume the metropolitan pie-slice shapes described earlier as ideal attendance areas for educational parks. New York City's schools *could* be organized along the lines suggested by the Bundy report in such a way as to help rather than to hinder integration.[25]

In summary, those who say there is nothing we can do about the educational segregation of our major cities are, fortunately, wrong. This is not to say that progress toward desegregation nationally will be rapid, or that we will necessarily do what is requisite to achieve such progress. But it is to say that desegregation *can* be achieved for a significant number of urban Americans, white and black. The real question is not can it be done. It is rather a political question: *Will* it be done?

Three Proposals

At the beginning of this chapter, there was mention of three proposals that flow from this discussion. They are: (1) the establishment of a Commission for Metropolitan Education, (2) the construction of a demographic simulation of the future

of educational desegregation, and (3) a systems analysis of effective mixes of school facilities. The remainder of the chapter is devoted to a discussion of these proposals.

A Commission for Metropolitan Education

Whether established by a single large foundation or a consortium of foundations interested in education, an action-oriented Commission for Metropolitan Education is imperative to set the model for federal efforts in education after the termination of the Vietnam War. If well budgeted and staffed, this commission could encourage a range of significant programs markedly different from such ill-fated and unfortunate private programs as The Ford Foundation's Great Cities compensatory education endeavor or its community-control program in three New York City school areas.

First, and most important, the commission could experiment with strategic grants to metropolitan consortia for a variety of inter-district cooperative schemes. Remarkably little cooperation exists today between districts within a metropolitan area, even in such obvious activities of mutual benefit as common procurement of supplies. For instance, the Great High School plan for Pittsburgh, described in Chapter 4, was drawn up with virtually no communication with surrounding suburban districts. Not even the richest nation on earth can expect in peacetime to fund adequately over 26,000 separate school districts that largely compete against each other.

Multi-district grants should be made with the primary aim of bringing about quality education for *all* children in a metropolitan area, with continuous supervision to make sure that this includes expanding opportunities for racial and class integration. At the present time this focus would mean, among other possibilities, support for the spread to other metropolitan areas of Boston's Metropolitan Council for Education Opportunity (METCO) and Hartford's Project Concern. Though transporting relatively small numbers of black children to

empty seats in suburban schools offers no long-term solution in itself, it represents the beginnings of metropolitan cooperation, helps to mobilize metropolitan thinking and political pressures, and can lead (as it has in Massachusetts) to planning for state-operated demonstration schools and total state funding of public education in urban areas.

As indicated throughout this chapter, public-parochial school coordination should be one of the commission's goals. The commission could encourage new and more meaningful methods of joint operation, especially in such cities as Philadelphia and St. Louis where large proportions of the school-age white children attend church schools. High priority would be given to those programs involving physical proximity of public and private facilities and the participation of parochial students *as individuals* rather than in groups.

A Commission for Metropolitan Education would have many points of entry and leverage. One such is provided for by the federal Model Cities Program. Though Congress stripped the program of metropolitan and desegregation *requirements*, it nevertheless still presents *opportunities* to lay the groundwork for achievement of these goals. Relatively small but carefully designed grants to critical local agencies working with Model Cities planning in particular cities could exploit this possibility. The metropolitan planning councils that exist in most urban areas make promising starting points.

Another point of entry is through the university. Urban study programs at the University of Chicago, Columbia, Harvard, and other universities in major centers have already received significant foundation funding and provide bases for both research and direct involvement of higher education. The commission could ensure that metropolitan educational concerns would not be left out of the work and action of these urban programs. At the minimum, the schools of education in these institutions would be directly linked organizationally with urban programs and would be given the responsibility

for drawing up operational proposals for local metropolitan coordination.

Still another point of entry is through the architectural, design, and planning professions. Large educational complexes, whether or not in the park form described here, are definitely in the future. They could be enormous monuments to poor planning, or they could introduce an entirely new and upgraded level of facility for public education. So critical is the effective use of America's best architectural and planning genius that the commission might well assign a high priority to this area. Special grants could be made to architects and planners who work with educators in creating innovative designs to meet varied educational situations, and this could help prepare the the ground for effective utilization of the federal school construction funds in the post-Vietnam future.

No matter how imaginative, plans are never so convincing as concrete examples. This suggests that the commission should invest in the development of at least one well-conceived metropolitan educational complex. There is actually no metropolitan complex in existence today that meets the criteria discussed in this chapter, so that such a model would undoubtedly receive considerable attention. To increase its impact, the complex should be located in an area where racial and class problems are not too atypical. Washington and New York City at one end of the spectrum, or Salt Lake City and Spokane at the other, would not be ideal demonstration areas. More suitable would be Providence, for example, where there is a more typical racial mixture, and where interest in the idea has already developed throughout the area and state educational officials are inclined favorably toward it.

Finally, the commission might well consider establishing a land bank of ideal metropolitan sites for future educational complexes. Such an effort could consist of interest-free loans to school district consortia to purchase strategic sites for building metropolitan complexes in the future. Ask urban

superintendents who have long-range views about such sites and they will immediately provide you with one or more ideal locations that could be purchased if only the capital funds were available. Ask urban planners about such sites and they are likely to tell you that such locations are in short supply and rapidly disappearing—especially in the older eastern cities. These opinions suggest that a land bank of even modest proportions might prove of critical significance.

A Demographic Simulation of Desegregation

Those who have a strong ideological commitment to racial integration often make it seem as though total school desegregation could be accomplished next fall if it were not for the resistance of the Hickses and Wallaces and their followers. Other observers of the urban scene, eyeing the growing densities of black population in central cities, cast aside such contentions as naive. Yet because this group is likewise susceptible to an equally naive reading of racial demography, they are convinced that virtually all efforts at educational integration are futile.

In making their case, the apostles of doom overlook certain basic facts. As pointed out earlier in this chapter, black Americans are represented in the nation's metropolitan areas in a similar proportion to that of white Americans; three out of four persons in each group live in metropolitan areas. Nor are Washington and Harlem typical of black communities throughout urban America. The pessimistic view also rests on certain assumptions about future demographic trends.

The first assumption is that black communities in metropolitan areas will remain concentrated in the central cities. This is contradicted by the latest available data. In Pittsburgh, for example, the eastern black ghetto has already begun to spread into the suburbs; Chicago's western ghetto is about to do the same. Furthermore, as David L. Birch has recently pointed out, "Blacks finally appear to be moving throughout the metropolitan region in something like the way that other

immigrants did before them."[26] The other assumptions on which pessimists base their case are these:

The single-site model of so-called neighborhood schools will dominate future school plans despite its increasingly uneconomic future.

The overwhelmingly white parochial school systems in key central cities will not cooperate increasingly with public systems.

Virtually all school district and municipal boundaries will remain as they are.

Metropolitan cooperation in public education will not grow despite its economic attractions and the possibility of future federal incentives.

None of these sweeping assumptions appears fully justified. As usual, the truth seems to lie somewhere between two extreme interpretations. On the one hand, with all the imaginable good faith, metropolitan cooperation, and federal construction funds, school integration as a realistic attainment for virtually *all* urban blacks is a long-term goal. On the other hand, vastly expanded integrated education in metropolitan America is not only possible but could be achieved by means of methods and techniques now known.

Yet these two statements do not define the problem sufficiently. How many urban blacks and whites could be integrated through various alterations in the present school organization? What would be the black demand for such integration? What would be the black demand for separate schools? And what is the range of possible answers to these queries for 1980, 1990, or 2000? The data regarding these questions are so sparse that it is not possible to judge even the order of magnitude and the range of possibilities. With the growing technology of computer-assisted simulation of social processes, however, it would be possible to develop the needed data. Work on these issues would be valuable not only in planning education but in developing plans throughout all realms of American race relations.

We know enough now to realize that the resulting models would be complex. For example, black demand for integration is not just a simple function of central-city concentration but is highly dependent upon the realistic opportunities available for integration. Similar to the increase in total automobile travel brought about by the attraction of new turnpikes, there will be an ever-increasing demand for even fuller integration as integration expands in actuality; any new model would have to provide for feedback to take this into account.

Likewise, estimates would be necessary of rising demand for racial separatism were segregation to be increased. It is worth recalling here the data of the Commission on Civil Rights concerning both black and white adults which strongly suggest that adult interracial behavior, as well as interracial attitudes, are importantly a function of integrated or segregated school experience. Interesting, too, is the surprisingly favorable response of lower-status black parents to having their children participate in Hartford's Project Concern and integrated schools once it became a viable possibility. But these data are rare. Hence, such a full-scale simulation project would not only provide a valuable guide for political decisions, but would also lead to significant research aimed at providing the model with values for its vital parameters.

A Systems Analysis of Effective Mixes

Contractual education services, compensatory education, open schools, community schools, tutorial schools, magnet schools, volunteer schools, metropolitan educational parks—all these models and more afford ample evidence that there is no dearth of ideas for the future education of America's children. This array of new proposals has arisen from the widely acknowledged fact that public schools in their present forms are not meeting national aspirations, not just in the central city but in suburban and rural areas as well.

The discussion of these various models to date, however, often suffers from a general lack of appreciation for a systems approach. For that matter, we have long spoken of "school systems," but rarely has their administration been conducted in a rational and system-oriented manner. Today, proponents and critics argue for and against each model much as if it were the *only* model for all of public education to adopt in the future. Stated this way, of course, the assumption is absurd; the problems and circumstances of public education in this large nation are too varied to be optimally answered by a single approach.

Indeed, a judicious, well-planned mix of these models would almost surely provide the best fit for the problems and situation, even in a single medium-sized school district. These maximally efficient mixed models will undoubtedly vary from area to area. But to date, little discussion has been directed to this critical planning issue. Proponents of the various models are too busy selling their individual wares to initiate this thinking.

Obviously, even metropolitan educational parks are not in themselves a total solution any more than any other single model. But the author has tried to indicate why he believes them to be essential *ingredients* in any effective mixture of school facilities and programs for medium-sized and large-sized metropolitan areas.

Appendix

A Sample Request for Performance

(*Chapter 2. Accountability in Education*)

The following simplified request for performance can serve as an example of a basis for a performance contract. Virtually all of the first- and second-generation RFP's contain these provisions.

General

A description of educational services to be provided. You are invited to submit a proposal to provide educational services to remove mathematics, reading and other directly-related educational deficiencies of potential dropouts at the secondary level.

Payment. A fixed-fee contract with incentives for successfully providing student achievement in mathematics, reading, and related skills in the most effective and efficient manner will be granted to the successful bidder. Other contractual arrangements, in addition to this approach, will be considered if justifiable. The contractor will be paid on the basis of successful student achievement of pre-negotiated standards of performance.

Population to be Served

The population will be all students who are designated by the local school district as potential dropouts due to specified educational deficiencies. The number will be stated.

Educational Process to be Used

A general description of the process is detailed here; e.g., students will be released from normal school classroom time for three hours per day to participate in the program as described with free access to the regular school program.

Standards of Performance

Pre-tests and post-tests and other stipulated modes of proof will be utilized as the basis for determining student achievement. The contractor may wish to propose other testing instruments or combinations (e.g., at different grade levels) in which case a rationale and justification for doing so should be made explicit. In the event that the designated test is used, or if another test or combination is proposed, the proposal should indicate which sub-components of the tests (e.g., reading, mathematics, study skills, etc.) constitute the "reading" and "math" on which achievement will be based. Procedures will be developed to prevent teaching to the test(s).

Method of Cost Reimbursement

In order to achieve the over-all objectives, incentives will be allowed for the contractor to assist the student to achieve designated performance levels in the most efficient manner. In proposing the method of reimbursement in response, the contractor might want to consider one or a combination of the following methods as the basis of his determination:

Fixed fee on a grade level achievement basis in mathematics or reading per maximum hours of instruction on an all-or-nothing basis. An example would be one grade level in mathematics and reading for $250 in not more than 200 instructional hours; if the student does not achieve at the prescribed levels, then the contractor is not reimbursed the fee.

Fixed fee based on a grade level achievement basis in mathematics and reading per maximum hours of instruction or achievement normalized to the maximum hours of instruction with penalty clauses. If the student achieves only 0.8 grade level increase in 120 hours, when 100 hours is the maximum stipulated time, then with a penalty clause of 60 per cent between .5 and .7 grade levels of achievement, the contractor would be paid 40 per cent of the stipulated fixed fee.

Fixed fee basis per "cluster" of study skills with maximum hours not more than one-third of total hours of instruction in mathematics or reading. Behavioral objectives and pre- and post-tests to be used will be stated explicitly.

The bidder may choose to propose an approach other than those above. Such approaches will not be considered when submitted alone but are encouraged when submitted as supplemental to the basic response to this RFP. In the supplemental proposal for cost

reimbursement, the rationale and justification must be made quite explicit.

Other Provisions

In the proposal, the contractor will agree to the following specific provisions or stipulate reasons to the contrary, and provide descriptive information as described below:

The contractor agrees to hire and train local personnel, most of whom are to be used as para-professionals. Minimal qualifications will be stipulated for each job slot that would be filled by these people. At least 50 per cent of personnel involved in the instructional program will be local; approval must be obtained from the school board on recommendation of an executive committee.

The contractor agrees to utilize teachers and administrators (in a number specified) from the participating school chosen by the executive committee as consultants. This group will work part time and will be involved in over-all design, curricula redesign and modification, instructional systems development, instruction evaluation, and other areas in which their first-hand knowledge of the nature and extent of academic problems unique to the school will be useful to the contractor. The contractor will be reimbursed for the costs of hiring these consultants. Specific areas in which these local consultants could be used part time must be stipulated by the bidder.

The contractor agrees to submit a list and specifications of all nonexpendable equipment and materials, as well as consumable instructional material which will be used. Suggested equipment, sales representatives, and addresses should be made available; equipment available through surplus programs should be noted. All equipment marketed by the contractor should be noted and if the same equipment amounts to over 50 per cent of total equipment and material costs, then suggested lease-purchase arrangements should be explained in detail. Estimated delivery dates for both initiation and expansion of program should be noted.

Details of Bidder Proposal

The proposal to be submitted to the fiscal agent of the school should include the above conditions and provisions, performance requirements, and other information related to the above in the following format: (a) statement of the problem, (b) approach taken, (c) schedule of performance, (d) subcontracting, (e) copyrights and

patents, (f) personnel to be used, (g) costs and pricing, and (h) equipment costs and specifications.

The contractor will also submit a proposed space requirement per optimal student grouping (e.g., 30 students per classroom). Also included will be refurbishing cost estimates of an existing facility.

Incentives

Most observers feel that incentives should be included in the RFP. This element is a prime ingredient in a performance contract and in the achievement of accountability for results. Using rewards for meeting objectives can enhance both motivation and follow-through of program aspirations.

Various incentive payments to the contractor that might be productive have been suggested. For example, it has been proposed that the contractor receive such payment when the student:

Demonstrates on a General Education Development Equivalency Test Certification that he has completed all five subtests (such tests to be administered by a certified administrator) and received a standard score of not less than 40 on any subtest or achieved an average of 45 on all five subtests;

Demonstrates a minimum specified per cent per month increase in appropriate behaviors, as recorded by the use of a behavior checklist, such appropriate behaviors to be ascertained jointly prior to the signing of any contract;

Demonstrates progress through the academic, vocational, and social skills program units to the extent that he completes a defined course, completion of a defined course being defined as curricula and clusters of curricula in existence at the institution;

Demonstrates progress through the units of new program content that may be added subsequent to the negotiation of the contract and upon which agreement is achieved by all parties to the contract, to the fact that such additional units do constitute relevant and appropriate program content;

Passes successfully such situational performance tests as shall be developed and agreed upon jointly by all parties to the contract prior to and after signing;

Demonstrates no antisocial activities, such activities being defined as those that would result in a written report within the administrative and management criteria presently in existence;

Achieves a high school diploma to be defined as a verification that 16 credits have been attained in the following areas with pro-

portional allocations: English, 3 credits; social studies, 2 credits; mathematics, 1 credit; science, 1 credit; electives, 9 credits (a credit is defined as 72 hours of successful classroom study);

Enters and participates in VISTA or the Peace Corps, such entry in those programs to take place within a specified number of months of his departure from the school;

Is a registered student, within six months of his departure from the institution, at an accredited college, university, or junior college;

Is gainfully employed within a specified number of days of his departure from the institution, the employer being a state, federal, or other governmental political subdivision, or that such employer must be a bona fide representative of the private sector of the economy, including privately financed nonprofit organizations;

Is gainfully employed by the month after departure from the institution, such employment having been continuous with the employer of record for a specified number of months at the completion of twelve calendar months;

While gainfully employed, receives payment for his services that are 20 per cent in excess of the minimum wage rate required by applicable local, state, and federal regulations and statutes.

Notes

Chapter 1. Financing Education (pages 3-22)

1. For some insights, see David B. Tyack, "New Perspectives on the History of American Education," in Herbert J. Bass, ed., *The State of American History* (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1970), pp. 22-42.
2. For a systematic review of this evidence, see James W. Guthrie and others, "Equality: A Study of the Relationships Between Social Status, School Services, and Post-School Opportunity in the State of Michigan," a report prepared for the National Urban Coalition (September 1969). The U.S. Office of Education found that the relative differences in academic performances among children drawn from different racial or social groups were fairly stable between first grade and twelfth grade. That is, there was no observed tendency for differences in academic achievement between blacks and whites or rich and poor to be reduced as a consequence of schooling. See James S. Coleman and others, *Equality of Educational Opportunity* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1966), pp. 218-275.
3. For some educational views, see A. Harry Passow and others, comps., *Education of the Disadvantaged* (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1967).
4. This trichotomy is found in Henry M. Levin, "Decentralization and the Finance of Inner-City Schools," in National Education Association. Committee on Educational Finance, *Fiscal Planning for Schools in Transition* (Washington, D.C.: 1970), pp. 66-72.
5. For a review of the legal bases, see Arthur Wise, *Rich Schools, Poor Schools* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968), pp. 104-112.
6. Arthur Wise, *op. cit.* (note 5), pp. 98-101.
7. For an excellent general review of city school finance, see H. Thomas James and others, *Determinants of Educational Expenditures in Large Cities of the United States* (Stanford: Stanford University, School of Education, 1966).
8. Michigan. State Board of Education, *Ranking of Michigan High School Districts by Selected Financial Data, 1965-66*, Bulletin 1012 (Lansing: January 1967). The state average was about $14,000 per pupil.
9. Dick Netzer, *Economics of the Property Tax* (Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution, 1966), pp. 117-122.
10. For some examples of the large disparities in taxable wealth within the metropolitan regions, see Dick Netzer, *op. cit.* (note 9), pp. 124-125.

11. Estimated for Providence, R.I. in Charles S. Benson and James A. Kelly, *The Rhode Island Comprehensive Foundation and Enhancement State Aid Program for Education* (Providence: Rhode Island Special Commission To Study the Future Field of Education, 1966), pp. 68-69.
12. For evidence on the cost of teachers, see the author's "Recruiting Teachers" (1969).
13. James W. Guthrie and others, *op. cit.* (note 2).
14. Nevin S. Scrimshaw, "Infant Malnutrition and Adult Learning," *Saturday Review*, Vol. 51, No. 11 (March 16, 1968), pp. 64-66, 84.
15. For a review of these arrangements, see Charles S. Benson, *The Economics of Public Education*, 2nd ed. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1968), pp. 129-153.
16. For a review of the mechanisms producing these two effects, see John E. Coons and others, "Educational Opportunity: A Workable Constitutional Test for State Financial Structures," *California Law Review*, Vol. 57, No. 2 (April 1969), pp. 312-317; and James W. Guthrie and others, *op. cit.* (note 2). For evidence on the differences in tax effort between central cities and suburbs among the twenty-two largest metropolitan areas, see Dick Netzer, *Impact of the Property Tax: Its Economic Implications for Urban Problems* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1968). For evidence on the wealth effect, see H. Thomas James and others, *Wealth, Expenditures and Decision-Making for Education* (Stanford: Stanford University, School of Education, 1963).
17. U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, *Racial Isolation in the Public Schools* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1967), Vol. 1, p. 29. See also Seymour Sacks, "The Educational Dimension of Large City School Finances in Their Metropolitan Context: A Comparative Analysis," in National Conference on School Finance, *The Challenge of Change in School Finance* (Washington, D.C.: National Education Association, 1967), pp. 69-86.
18. Patricia Sexton, *Education and Income; Inequalities of Opportunity in Our Public Schools* (New York: Viking Press, 1961); Eric Thornblad, "The Fiscal Impact of a Higher Concentration of Low Income Families Upon the Public Schools," doctoral dissertation (Urbana: University of Illinois, 1966); U.S. Congress. House. Committee on Education and Labor. Task Force on Antipoverty in the District of Columbia, *Investigation of the Schools and Poverty in the District of Columbia* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1966); and John D. Owen, "The Distribution of Educational Resources in Large American Cities" (1969).
19. This report was discussed in a weekly news review in the section, "This World," *San Francisco Examiner & Chronicle* (August 10, 1969), pp. 5-6.
20. For a more complete analysis of the role of the unified salary schedule in misallocating teachers, see Joseph A. Kershaw and Roland N. McKean, *Teacher Shortages and Salary Schedules* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1962). See also Henry M. Levin, *op. cit.* (note 12).
21. This approach is well documented and illustrated in Sylvia Ashton-Warner, *Teacher* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1963). See also Frederick D. Flower, *Language and Education* (London: Longmans, Green, 1966).

22. Certainly this idea is not new. It has been suggested by many persons concerned with minority education. An excellent example is Joan C. Baratz and Roger Shuy, *Teaching Black Children To Read* (Washington, D.C.: Center for Applied Linguistics, 1969). It has rarely been applied, however.
23. Harry Piccariello, "Evaluation of Title I" (1969).
24. Harry Piccariello, *op. cit.* (note 23).
25. Arthur Wise, *op. cit.* (note 5); John E. Coons and others, *op. cit.* (note 16); and Charles U. Daly, ed., *The Quality of Inequality: Urban and Suburban Public Schools* (Chicago: University of Chicago, Center for Policy Study, 1968).
26. Equality of educational opportunity is not easy to define in an operational sense. See the discussion on this concept in Harvard Educational Review, *Equal Educational Opportunity* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1969).
27. This is the hope of such constitutional scholars as Philip B. Kurland, who see error in seeking judicial solutions for complex social ills that cannot easily be solved by mandate. See his "Equal Educational Opportunity, or The Limits of Constitutional Jurisprudence Undefined," in Charles U. Daly, *op. cit.* (note 25), pp. 47-72.
28. A good discussion of the legal aspects of such cases is found in John E. Coons and others, *op. cit.* (note 16).
29. Walter I. Garms, *Development of a Measure of Educational Need and Its Use in a State School Support Formula* (Albany: New York State Educational Conference Board, June 1969).
30. For a more general analysis of the need for building performance incentives into public enterprises, see Charles L. Schultze, *The Politics and Economics of Public Spending* (Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution, 1968).
31. Milton Friedman, "Economic Policy and Social Control: The Role of Government in Education," in Robert A. Solo, ed., *Economics and the Public Interest* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1955), pp. 123-144.
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34. For a fuller discussion of the benefits and problems associated with the market plan, see Henry M. Levin, "The Failure of the Public Schools and the Free Market Remedy," *The Urban Review*, Vol. 2, No. 7 (June 1968), pp. 32-37.
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36. James S. Coleman, "Towards Open Schools," *The Public Interest*, No. 9 (Fall 1967), pp. 20-27.
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Chapter 2. Accountability in Education (pages 23-48)

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2. Robert Silverberg, *The Challenge of Climate: Man and His Environment* (New York: Meredith Press, 1969), pp. 287-288.

Chapter 3. Training Teachers (pages 49-75)

1. James C. Stone, *Teachers for the Disadvantaged* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1969).
2. There have been many reform efforts. Some of the major attempts have been made by the American Council on Education's Commission on Teacher Education (1938-46); the National Education Association's National Commission on Teacher Education and Professional Standards (1946 to date); the Fund for the Advancement of Education (1950-59); the Ford Foundation's "breakthrough programs" (1960-66); the National Defense Education Act, the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, and other federal grants (1958 to date).
3. Henry H. Hill, "Wanted: Professional Teachers," *The Atlantic*, Vol. 205, No. 5 (May 1960), pp. 38-39.
4. Douglas Minnis, "Rebellion in Teacher Education: Requiem for a Fossil in White Tie and Tails," conference address, California Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development (November 21, 1968).
5. These include the author's *Breakthrough in Teacher Education* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1968); "Teacher Education: Reform or Rebirth?" *NEA Journal*, Vol. 57, No. 5 (May 1968), pp. 23-25; and "Whither Reform in Teacher Education?" *Educational Leadership*, Vol. 25, No. 2 (November 1967), pp. 127-131.
6. National Education Association. National Commission on Teacher Education and Professional Standards, *A New Order in Student Teaching* (Washington, D.C.: 1967), p. 21.
7. James C. Stone, *op. cit.* (note 1), p. 194.
8. As an application to school curriculum projects, see Mario D. Fantini and Gerald Weinstein, *The Disadvantaged: Challenge to Education* (New York: Harper & Row, 1968), pp. 297-300. As an application to the preparation of teachers and other higher education personnel, see James C. Stone, *op. cit.* (note 5), pp. 178-180.

9. As one project director sized up the situation: "Either the public school or the college becomes the banker, calling the tune to which the others dance."
10. An address to the California Council on the Education of Teachers contained the following statement: "It is no longer possible for colleges and universities, through the instrumentation of schools or departments of education, adequately to prepare teachers within the relative isolation of the campus—even when that preparation involves, as it usually does, some cooperative efforts between the colleges and the public schools. The coalition between colleges and schools should be expanded to include representatives from student and community groups and, since neither the college nor the public school is able by itself to provide for that kind of extension of the teacher education coalition, the creation of new institutions responsible for the training of educational personnel. Put simply, the creation of quasi-governmental or multi-institutional consortia or corporations for the preparation of education personnel. While such an institution must and would include schools and colleges, it would also include other groups now excluded; and the full meaning of that, of course, is to suggest that the present school-college coalition surrender some of its present sovereignty over teacher education to a new quasi-governmental institution . . ." Hobert W. Burns, "The Public Schools as Trainers of Teachers: A (Modest) Proposal" (October 31, 1968).
11. Hobert W. Burns, *op. cit.* (note 10).
12. This research included the study of federal projects previously referred to (note 2) as well as those funded by The Ford Foundation and analyzed in a 1968 book by the author (note 5).
13. James C. Stone, *op. cit.* (note 5), pp. 178-190.

Chapter 4. Educational Facilities (pages 76-95)

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2. Cyril G. Sargent, *Boston Schools: A Report on the Schools of Boston* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1962).
3. Educational Facilities Laboratories, *Relocatable School Facilities* (New York: 1964).
4. Educational Facilities Laboratories, *The High School Auditorium: Six Designs for Renewal* (New York: 1967).
5. Council of the Great Cities Program, *New Life for Old Schools* (Washington, D.C.: 1968).
6. Murphy-Levy-Wurman, *The Loft Building as a Schoolhouse: A Study for the School District of Philadelphia* (Philadelphia: 1968).
7. Ruth Weinstock, *Space and Dollars: An Urban University Expands* (New York: Educational Facilities Laboratories, 1961).

8. Educational Facilities Laboratories, *Schools Without Walls* (New York: 1965).
9. Educational Facilities Laboratories, *SCSD: The Project and the Schools* (New York: 1967).
10. Toronto, Can. Metropolitan Toronto School Board, *SEF E1: Educational Specifications and User Requirements for Elementary (K-6) Schools* (Scarborough, Ont., Can.: McGraw-Hill, 1968).
11. Albert A. Walsh and Daniel Z. Nelson, "The Concept of Combined Occupancy," in Alvin Toffler, *op. cit.* (note 1), pp. 174-185.
12. Harold Howe II, "The City as Teacher," in Alvin Toffler, *op. cit.* (note 1), pp. 9-10.
13. Terry Ferrer, *The Schools and Urban Renewal: A Case Study from New Haven* (New York: Educational Facilities Laboratories, 1964).
14. Educational Facilities Laboratories, *The Schoolhouse in the City*, a report including financial data for the fiscal year 1965 (New York: 1966); and Bernard J. McCormick, "Toward the Education Park: Pittsburgh," in Alvin Toffler, *op. cit.* (note 1), pp. 200-206.
15. Educational Facilities Laboratories, *op. cit.* (note 14); Community Research and Development, Inc. (CORDE Corporation), *A Report on the Education Park* (Wilton: 1967); available from Educational Facilities Laboratories; and Allan R. Talbot, "Linear City: Brooklyn," in Alvin Toffler, *op. cit.* (note 1), pp. 221-226.
16. Community Research and Development, Inc., *op. cit.* (note 15).
17. Syracuse, N.Y. Board of Education, *The Campus Plan: A Report on a Feasibility Study for Elementary School Construction in Syracuse, N.Y.* (Syracuse: 1967).
18. Community Research and Development, Inc., *op. cit.* (note 15).
19. Educational Facilities Laboratories, *op. cit.* (note 14).
20. Martin Deutsch and others, *Memorandum on: Facilities for Early Childhood Education* (New York: Educational Facilities Laboratories, 1966); Ronald W. Haase, *Designing the Child Development Center* (Washington, D.C.: Office of Economic Opportunity, Project Head Start, 1968); Educational Facilities Laboratories, *Educational Change and Architectural Consequences: A Report on Facilities for Individualized Instruction* (New York: 1968); and Margaret Loeffler, *The Prepared Environment and Its Relationship to Learning* (Oklahoma City: The Casady School, 1967).
21. A film, *Room to Learn*, in 16mm color, is available on loan without charge from Association Films, Inc., 600 Grand Avenue, Ridgefield, N.J. 07657.
22. "The Dropout: How to Reclaim 'Lost' Manpower," *Steel*, Vol. 162, No. 5 (January 29, 1968), pp. 38-39.
23. Educational Facilities Laboratories, *Campus in the City*, a report including financial data for the fiscal year 1967 (New York: 1968).
24. Educational Facilities Laboratories, *A College in the City: An Alternative* (New York: 1969).
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Chapter 5. The Educational Park (pages 96-122)

1. Parts of this chapter have appeared in earlier publications by the author. For a more detailed treatment, see especially his "The Negro and Education: Problems and Proposals," Irwin Katz and Patricia Gurin, eds., *Race and the Social Sciences* (New York: Basic Books, 1969), pp. 49-112.
2. James S. Coleman and others, *Equality of Educational Opportunity* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1966).
3. Alan B. Wilson, "Residential Segregation of Social Classes and Aspirations of High School Boys," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 24, No. 6 (December 1959), pp. 836-845; Stuart Cleveland, "A Tardy Look at Stouffer's Findings in the Harvard Mobility Project," *Public Opinion Quarterly*, Vol. 26, No. 3 (Fall 1962), pp. 453-454; John A. Michael, "High School Climates and Plans for Entering College," *Public Opinion Quarterly*, Vol. 25, No. 4 (Winter 1961), pp. 585-595; and U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, *Racial Isolation in the Public Schools* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1967), Vol. 2, pp. 165-206.
4. James S. Coleman and others, *op. cit.* (note 2), p. 332.
5. James S. Coleman and others, *op. cit.* (note 2), p. 333. The scores of the few Negroes with all white classmates have the highest SD's of all, though smaller cell sizes are involved.
6. James S. Coleman and others, *op. cit.* (note 2), pp. 307, 330.
7. U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, *op. cit.* (note 3), Vol. 1, p. 90.
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11. U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, *Civil Rights USA: Public Schools, Southern States, 1962* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1963).
12. U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, *op. cit.* (note 3), Vol. 1, pp. 111-113.
13. *Ibid.*
14. U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, *op. cit.* (note 3), Vol. 1, p. 7. This section is largely a terse restatement of the first and second chapters of the Commission's report.
15. James S. Coleman and others, *op. cit.* (note 2), pp. 3-7.
16. U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, *op. cit.* (note 3), Vol. 1, p. 8.
17. Joint Center for Urban Studies of Massachusetts Institute of Technology and Harvard University, "Changes in School Attendance Districts as a Means of Alleviating Racial Imbalance in the Boston Public Schools" (August 1966).
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19. Karl E. Taeuber and Alma F. Taeuber, *Negroes in Cities; Residential Segregation and Neighborhood Change* (Chicago: Aldine, 1965).
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Contributors

HAROLD B. GORES, President of Educational Facilities Laboratories, Incorporated, began his career in education as a high school teacher in Massachusetts and served with the Newton public school system for twenty-three years. He was Superintendent of Schools there from 1949 to 1958, meanwhile earning his doctoral degree at the Harvard Graduate School of Education. Gores has served widely as a consultant and advisor to government, foundations, schools, and universities. He has been Chairman of the Fulbright Teacher Exchange Program (Northeast Region) and a member of the executive committee of the Advanced Placement Program of the College Entrance Examination Board. He has served on several Presidential commissions, including the Commission on Instructional Technology. He was also an advisor to CED's Subcommittee on Education for the Urban Disadvantaged. Among his current appointments, he is a member of the Building Research Advisory Board of the National Academy of Sciences and a trustee of Independent Educational Services.

LEON M. LESSINGER has served as Chief Research Consultant for the California Department of Education, Superintendent of the San Mateo Union High School District, and Associate U.S. Commissioner of Education in 1968–70. He is now Callaway Professor of Education at Georgia State University. A clinical psychologist, he received his doctorate at the University of California (Los Angeles) and has taught at the secondary school and junior college as well as university level. He has been a consultant to many state, county, and local educational agencies and a member of governmental boards and commissions, including the Advisory Council of the President's Youth Opportunity Campaign and the National Advisory Committee to the Education Professions Development Act. He was also an advisor to CED's Subcommittee on Education for the Urban Disadvantaged. Lessinger has written scores of monographs and articles on a wide variety of education issues and is the author of a recent book entitled *Every Kid a Winner: Accountability in Education*.

HENRY M. LEVIN is an economist in the related fields of public finance, urban affairs, human resources, and education. He has been an instructor at Rutgers University, an associate research scientist at New York University's Graduate School of Public Administration, and a research associate at The Brookings Institution. After receiving his doctorate at Rutgers in 1967, he joined the faculty of Stanford University, where he is now an associate professor in the School of Education and Department of Economics. Levin is a member of the Secretary's Advisory Panel of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, and is a consultant to the U.S. Office of Education and the California Legislature. He is also a consultant to the Economics Department of the RAND Corporation and a member of the Interuniversity Committee on Urban Economics. Levin has written widely on a number of topics, ranging from the determinants of scholastic achievement and the techniques of teacher selection to community control and the economics of school decision making.

STERLING M. MCMURRIN is E.E. Ericksen Distinguished Professor and Dean of the Graduate School at the University of Utah. He has served on the faculty of the University of Southern California and has been Visiting Scholar at Columbia University and Union Theological Seminary and Ford Fellow in Philosophy at Princeton University. His wide government experience has included service as U.S. Commissioner of Education in 1961–62 and chairman of the Federal Commission on Instructional Technology. He is a trustee of the Carnegie Foundation and has been Vice President of the American Philosophical Association. McMurrin has also been a member of the CED Research Advisory Board, was project director of the recent CED subcommittees on Efficiency and Innovation in Education and Education for the Urban Disadvantaged, and is project director of the new subcommittee on the Management and Financing of Colleges. His writings include *A History of Philosophy* (with B.A.G. Fuller) and *Contemporary Philosophy* (with J.L. Jarrett).

THOMAS F. PETTIGREW, Professor of Social Relations at Harvard University, is an investigator of racial tension both in this country and abroad. After receiving his doctorate at Harvard, he was a research associate at the Institute for Social Research at the University of Natal in South Africa and taught at the University of North Carolina, returning to Harvard as a member of the faculty in 1957. He has held a Guggenheim Fellowship to work on problems of school desegregation. His latest research centers on white voting patterns as they affect black candidates for political office in major cities. Pettigrew has been President of the Society for the Psycholog-

ical Study of Social Issues and a consultant to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights and the Office of Education. His series of lectures on desegregation entitled "Epitaph for Jim Crow" has been produced as a film by National Educational Television. His books include *A Profile of the Negro American* and *Racially Separate or Together?*

JAMES C. STONE began his career as a teacher of teachers at Stanford University, where he received his doctorate in 1949. He is now Professor of Higher Education at the University of California (Berkeley), where he also has held the posts of Dean of Admissions and Director of the Graduate Internship Program in Teacher Education. Stone has been a consultant to the California State Department of Education, The Ford Foundation, and a number of universities and colleges. He is now Chairman of the Accreditation Committee of the California State Board of Education and a member of various federal and state governmental study groups in the field of education. He is also Director of the Hunter's Point Teacher Education Development Center, an experience on which he has drawn in writing his chapter in this volume. Stone is the author of many articles and books, including *The Foundations of Education: Commitment to Teaching* (with Frederick W. Schneider) and *Teachers for the Disadvantaged.*

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